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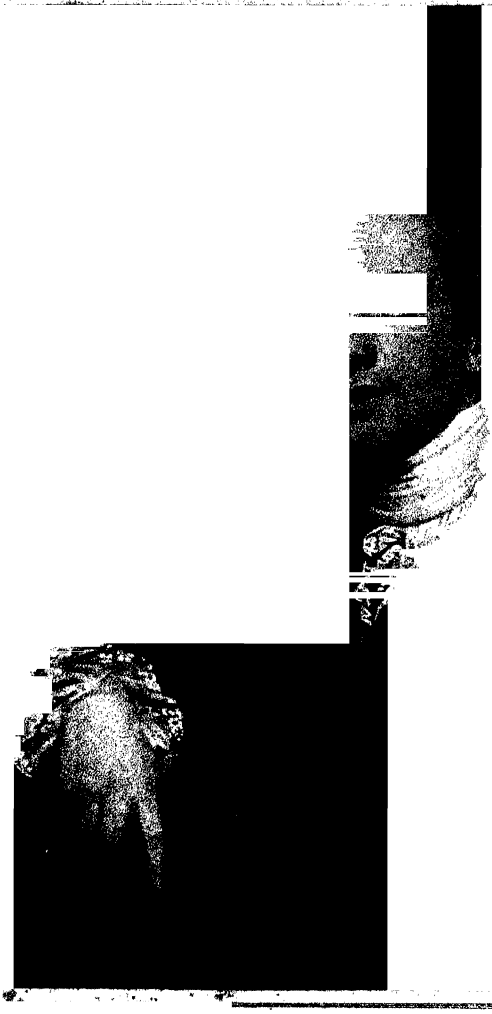

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

WITH

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

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THE THIRD VOLUM

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A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE

ASIATICK SOCIETY,

IN CALCUTTA,

ON THE

TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

BY THE HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN SHORE, BART*.

PRESIDENT.

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* Since Lord TEIGNMOUTH.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

IF I had conſulted my competency only, for the ſtation which your choice has conferred upon me, I muſt without heſitation have declined the honour of being the Preſident of this Society; and although I moſt cheerfully accept your invitation, with every inclination to aſſiſt, as far as my abilities extend, in promoting the laudable views of your aſſociation, I muſt ſtill retain the conſciouſneſs of thoſe diſqualifications, which you have been pleaſed to overlook.

It was lately our boaſt to poſſeſs a Preſident, whoſe name, talents, and character, would have been honourable to any inſtitution; it is now our misfortune to lament, that Sir William Jones exiſts, but in the affections of his friends, and in the eſteem, veneration, and regret of all.

I cannot, I flatter myſelf, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by making his character the ſubject of my firſt addreſs to you;

and if in the delineation of it, fondneſs or affection for the man ſhould appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the ſympathy of your feelings I ſhall find my apology.

To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to poſſeſs, and I am therefore to ſolicit your indulgence for an imperfect ſketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete deſcription of the talents, and knowledge, of your late and lamented Preſident.

I ſhall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquiſition of languages, which has never been excelled. In *Greek* and *Roman* literature, his early proficiency was the ſubject of admiration and applauſe; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progreſſive. The more elegant dialects of modern *Europe*, the *French*, the *Spaniſh*, and the *Italian*, he ſpoke and wrote with the greateſt fluency and preciſion; and the *German* and *Portugueſe* were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced; he ſtudied the *Hebrew* with eaſe and ſucceſs, and many of the moſt learned *Aſiaticks* have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of *Arabick* and *Perſian* was as accurate and extenſive as their own;

he was alſo converſant in the *Turkiſh* idiom, and the *Chineſe* had even attracted his notice, ſo far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in *India*, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the *Sanſcrit;* and the moſt enlightened profeſſors of the doctrines of BRAHMA confeſs with pride, delight, and ſurpriſe, that his knowledge of their ſacred dialect was moſt critically correct and profound. The *Pandits*, who were in the habit of attending him, when I ſaw them after his death, at a public *Durbar*, could neither ſuppreſs their tears for his loſs, nor find terms to expreſs their admiration at the wonderful progreſs he had made in their ſciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-ſecond year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the *Aſiaticks*, although a conſiderable time afterwards elapſed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours exiſted, would at once furniſh proofs of his conſummate ſkill in the Oriental dialects, of his proficiency in thoſe of *Rome* and *Greece*, of taſte and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.

But the judgement of Sir William Jones was too diſcerning to conſider language in any other light than as the key of ſcience, and he would have deſpiſed the reputation of a mere linguiſt. Knowledge and truth, were the object of all his ſtudies, and his ambition was to be uſeful to mankind; with theſe views, he extended his reſearches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propoſe to the Government of this country, what he juſtly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digeſt of *Hindu* and *Mahommedan* Law, from *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick* originals, with an offer of his ſervices to ſuperintend the compilation, and with a promiſe to tranſlate it. He had foreſeen, previous to his departure from *Europe*, that without the aid of ſuch a work, the wiſe and benevolent intentions of the legiſlature of *Great Britain*, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of theſe provinces in poſſeſſion of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a ſhort reſidence in India, confirmed what his ſagacity had anticipated, that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongſt the natives muſt too

often be ſubject to an uncertain and erroneous expoſition, or wilful miſinterpretation of their laws.

To the ſuperintendance of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his ſuggeſtion, he aſſiduouſly devoted thoſe hours which he could ſpare from his profeſſional duties. After tracing the plan of the digeſt, he preſcribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and ſelected from the moſt learned *Hindus* and *Mahommedans* fit perſons for the taſk of compiling it; flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applauſe, the *Pandits* proſecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a ſatisfactory concluſion. The *Molavees* have alſo nearly finiſhed their portion of the work, but we muſt ever regret, that the promiſed tranſlation, as well as the meditated preliminary diſſertation, have been fruſtrated by that decree, which ſo often intercepts the performance of human purpoſes.

During the courſe of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to ſtudy the works of MENU, reputed by the *Hindus* to be the oldeſt, and holieſt of legiſlatures; and finding them to comprize a ſyſtem of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, ſo comprehenſive and minutely exact, that it might be conſidered as the Inſtitutes of *Hindu* law, he

preſented a tranſlation of them to the Government of *Bengal.* During the ſame period, deeming no labour exceſſive or ſuperfluous that tended, in any reſpect, to promote the welfare or happineſs of mankind, he gave the public an *Engliſh* verſion of the *Arabick* text of the SIRAJIYAH, or *Mahommedan* Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already publiſhed in *England*, a tranſlation of a Tract on the ſame ſubject, by another *Mahommedan* Lawyer, containing, as his own words expreſs, "a lively and elegant epitome of the law of Inheritance, according to ZAID."

To theſe learned and important works, ſo far out of the road of amuſement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that deſire which he ever profeſſed, of rendering his knowledge uſeful to his nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of theſe provinces.

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I ſhall briefly recapitulate his other performances in *Aſiatick* Literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of ANQUETIL DU PERRON, with his illiberal reflections on ſome of the learned members of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, extorted from him a letter, in the *French* language, which has been admired for accurate

criticiſm, juſt ſatire, and elegant compoſition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to tranſlate, from a *Perſian* original into *French*, the life of NADIR SHAH, that it might not be carried out of England, with a reflection, that no perſon had been found in the Britiſh dominions capable of tranſlating it. The ſtudents of Perſian literature muſt ever be grateful to him, for a grammar of that language, in which he has ſhown the poſſibility of combining taſte, and elegance, with the preciſion of a grammarian; and every admirer of *Arabick* poetry, muſt acknowledge his obligations to him, for an *Engliſh* verſion of the ſeven celebrated poems, ſo well known by the name of *Moallakat*, from the diſtinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being ſuſpended in the temple of *Mecca:* I ſhould ſcarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not diſdain the office of Editor of a *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian* work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was publiſhed at his own expence, and was ſold for the benefit of inſolvent debtors. A ſimilar application was made of the produce of the SIRAJIYAH.

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amuſements of his leiſure hours, comprehending hymns on the *Hindu* mythology, poems

conſiſting chiefly of tranſlations from the *Aſiatick* languages, and the verſion of SACONTALA, an ancient *Indian* drama, it would be unbecoming to ſpeak in a ſtyle of importance which he did not himſelf annex to them. They ſhow the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taſte. Nor ſhall I particularly dwell on the diſcourſes addreſſed to this Society, which we have all peruſed or heard, or on the other learned and intereſting diſſertations, which form ſo large, and valuable a portion of the records of our Reſearches; let us lament, that the ſpirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which we liſtened with improvement, and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

But I cannot paſs over a paper, which has fallen into my poſſeſſion ſince his demiſe, in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones himſelf, entitled DESIDERATA, as more explanatory than any thing I can ſay, of the comprehenſive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a peruſal of it will ſhow, whatever is moſt curious, important, and attainable in the ſciences and hiſtories of *India*, *Arabia*, *China*, and *Tartary*; ſubjects, which he had already moſt amply diſcuſſed in the diſquiſitions which he laid before the Society.

DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

1.—The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.

2.—A Botanical Deſcription of Indian Plants, from the Coſhas, &c.

3.—A Grammar of the Sanſcrit Language, from Panini, &c.

4.—A Dictionary of the Sanſcrit Language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.

5.—On the Ancient Muſic of the Indians.

6.—On the Medical Subſtances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.

7.—On the Philoſophy of the Ancient Indians.

8.—ATranſlation of the Veda.

9.—On Ancient Indian Geometry, Aſtronomy, and Algebra.

10.—A Tranſlation of the Puranas.

11.—A Tranſlation of the Mahabbarat and Ramayan.

12.—On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.

13.—On the Indian Conſtellations, with their Mythology, from the Puranas.

14.—The Hiſtory of India before the Mahommedan conqueſt, from the Sanſcrit-Caſhmir Hiſtories.

ARABIA.

15.—The Hiſtory of Arabia before Mahommed.

16.—A Tranſlation of the Hamaſa.

17.—A Tranſlation of Hariri.

18.—A Tranſlation of the Facahatul Khulafa.

Of the Caſiah.

PERSIA.

19.—The Hiſtory of Perſia from Authorities in Sanſcrit, Arabick, Greek, Turkiſh, Perſian, ancient and modern.

Firdauſi's Khoſrau nama.

20.—The five Poems of Nizami, tranſlated in proſe.

A Dictionary of pure Perſian. Jehangire.

CHINA.

21.—A Tranſlation of the Shi-king.

22.—The text of Can-fu-tſu verbally tranſlated.

TARTARY.

23.—A Hiſtory of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkiſh and Perſian.

We are not authoriſed to conclude, that he had himſelf formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus ſketched; the taſk ſeems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human life; but we, who had the happineſs to know Sir William Jones, who were witneſſes of his indefatigable perſeverance in the purſuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accompliſh whatever he deemed important; who ſaw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and ſcience, and the facility with which all his compoſitions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleaſed Providence to protract the date of his exiſtence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had ſo extenſively planned.

I have hitherto principally confined my diſcourſe to the purſuits of our late Preſident in Oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time; but they neither precluded his attention to profeſſional ſtudies, nor to ſcience in general: amongſt his publications in *Europe*, in polite literature, excluſive of various compoſitions in proſe and verſe, I find a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Isæus, with a learned comment; and, in law, an Eſſay on the Law of Bailments:

upon the ſubject of this laſt work, I cannot deny myſelf the gratification of quoting the ſentiments of a celebrated hiſtorian: "Sir William "Jones has given an ingenious and rational "eſſay on the law of Bailments. He is per- "haps the only lawyer equally converſant with "the year books of *Weſtminſter*, the commen- "taries of ULPIAN, the Attic pleadings of "ISÆUS, and the ſentences of *Arabian* and "*Perſian Cadhis*."

His profeſſional ſtudies did not commence before his twenty-ſecond year, and I have his own authority for aſſerting, that the firſt book of *Engliſh* juriſprudence which he ever ſtudied, was FORTESCUE'S eſſay in praiſe of the laws of *England*.

Of the ability and conſcientious integrity, with which he diſcharged the functions of a Magiſtrate, and the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in this ſettlement, the public voice, and public regret bear ample and merited teſtimony. The ſame penetration which marked his ſcientific reſearches, diſtinguiſhed his legal inveſtigations and deciſions; and he deemed no inquiries burthenſome, which had for their object ſubſtantial juſtice under the rules of law.

His addreſſes to the jurors, are not leſs diſ-

tinguiſhed for philanthropy, and liberality of ſentiment, than for juſt expoſitions of the law, perſpicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an epilogue to his commentaries on *Aſiatick* poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquiſhing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to ſtudy law, expreſſed in a wiſh, which we now know to have been prophetic.

> Mihi ſit, oro, non inutilis toga,
> Nec indiſerta lingua, nec turpis manus!

I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diverſity and extent, ſeem far beyond the capacity of the moſt enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Aſia*, he added the knowledge of the philoſophy of thoſe countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the *Academy*, the *Lyceum*, or the *Portico*, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the *Vedas*, the myſticiſm of the *Sufis*, or the religion of the ancient *Perſians*; and whilſt with a kindred genius he peruſed with

rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compoſitions, of the moſt renowned poets of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Aſia*, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge, to the ſublime ſpeculations, or mathematical calculations, of BARROW and NEWTON. With them alſo, he profeſſed his conviction of the truth of the *Chriſtian* religion, and he juſtly deemed it no inconſiderable advantage, that his reſearches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the *Moſaick* account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following ſentiments in his eighth anniverſary diſcourſe.

" Theological inquiries are no part of my " preſent ſubject; but I cannot refrain from " adding, that the collection of tracts, which " we call from their excellence the Scriptures, " contain, independently of a divine origin, " more true ſublimity, more exquiſite beauty, " purer morality, more important hiſtory, and " finer ſtrains both of poetry and eloquence, " than could be collected within the ſame " compaſs from all other books, that were " ever compoſed in any age, or in any " idiom. The two parts, of which the " Scriptures conſiſt, are connected by a chain " of compoſitions, which bear no reſemblance " in form or ſtyle to any that can be produced

" from the ſtores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Perſian*, or " even *Arabian* learning; the antiquity of thoſe " compoſitions no man doubts, and the un- " ſtrained application of them to events long ſub- " ſequent to their publication, is a ſolid ground " of belief, that they were genuine predictions, " and conſequently inſpired."

There were in truth few ſciences, in which he had not acquired conſiderable proficiency; in moſt, his knowledge was profound. The theory of muſic was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himſelf acquainted with the intereſting diſcoveries lately made in chymiſtry; and I have heard him aſſert, that his admiration of the ſtructure of the human frame, had induced him to attend for a ſeaſon to a courſe of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated HUNTER.

His laſt and favourite purſuit, was the ſtudy of *Botany*, which he originally began under the confinement of a ſevere and lingering diſorder, which with moſt minds, would have proved a diſqualification from any application. It conſtituted the principal amuſement of his leiſure hours. In the arrangements of LINNÆUS he diſcovered ſyſtem, truth, and ſcience, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has

exhibited of his progreſs in *Botany*, we may conclude that he would have extended his diſcoveries in that ſcience. The laſt compoſition which he read in this Society, was a deſcription of ſelect *Indian* plants, and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publiſhing it, as a number in our Reſearches.

It cannot be deemed uſeleſs or ſuperfluous to inquire, by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almoſt univerſal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-ſeven years.

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by conſtant exerciſe; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impreſſed upon it. To an unextinguiſhed ardour for univerſal knowledge, he joined a perſeverance in the purſuit of it, which ſubdued all obſtacles; his ſtudies began with the dawn, and during the intermiſſions of profeſſional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation ſtrengthened and confirmed what induſtry and inveſtigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were fur-

mountable, from proſecuting to a ſucceſsful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents ſo much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the diſtribution which he had fixed; hence, all his ſtudies were purſued without interruption or confuſion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your obſervation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all perſons, of whatſoever quality, talents, or education; he juſtly concluded, that curious or important information, might be gained even from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he ſought and ſeized it.

Of the private and ſocial virtues of our lamented Preſident, our hearts are the beſt records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be neceſſary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his converſation and manners, or his modeſt unaſſuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as

from arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency, which ſometimes accompany and diſgrace the greateſt abilities; his preſence was the delight of every ſociety, which his converſation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loſs of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

To him, as the founder of our Inſtitution, and whilſt he lived, its firmeſt ſupport, our reverence is more particularly due; inſtructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modeſt merit was excited to diſtinguiſh itſelf. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilſt he cheerfully aſſiſted thoſe of others. In loſing him, we have not only been deprived of our brighteſt ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whoſe inſtructions, judgment, and candour, we could implicitly rely.

But it will, I truſt, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, loſe that influence over the members of this Society, which his living example had maintained; and if previous to his demiſe he had been aſked, by what poſthumous honours or attentions we could beſt ſhow our reſpect for his memory? I may venture to aſſert he would have replied, "By exerting yourſelves

" to ſupport the credit of the Society ;" applying to it, perhaps, the dying wiſh of father PAUL, " eſto perpetua !"

In this wiſh we muſt all concur, and with it, I cloſe *this addreſs to you.*

THE WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

A DISCOURSE ON THE INSTITUTION OF A SOCIETY,

FOR INQUIRING INTO THE

HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL, THE ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE, OF

ASIA.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I was at ſea laſt Auguſt, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently deſired to viſit, I found one evening, on inſpecting the obſervations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Perſia* on our left, whilſt a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our ſtern. A ſituation ſo pleaſing in itſelf, and to me ſo new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accuſtomed to

contemplate with delight the eventful hiſtories and agreeable fictions of this eaſtern world. It gave me inexpreſſible pleaſure to find myſelf in the midſt of ſo noble an amphitheatre, almoſt encircled by the vaſt regions of *Aſia*, which has ever been eſteemed the nurſe of ſciences, the inventreſs of delightful and uſeful arts, the ſcene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diverſified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, cuſtoms, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extenſive a field was yet unexplored, and how many ſolid advantages unimproved; and when I conſidered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, ſuch inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not eaſily brought, without ſome preſſing inducement or ſtrong impulſe, to converge in a common point, I conſoled myſelf with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, ſuch an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal*, with ſome of whom I already had, and with moſt was deſirous of having, the pleaſure of being intimately acquainted.

You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wiſhes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a ſociety for inquiring into the hiſtory and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, ſciences, and literature of *Aſia*. I may confidently foretel, that an inſtitution ſo likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge, to mankind, will advance to maturity by ſlow, yet certain, degrees; as the Royal Society, which at firſt was only a meeting of a few literary friends at *Oxford*, roſe gradually to that ſplendid zenith, at which a *Halley* was their ſecretary, and a *Newton* their preſident.

Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to enſure our ſucceſs and permanence, we muſt keep a middle courſe between a languid remiſſneſs, and an over zealous activity, and that the tree, which you have auſpiciouſly planted, will produce fairer bloſſoms, and more exquiſite fruit, if it be not at firſt expoſed to too great a glare of ſunſhine, yet I take the liberty of ſubmitting to your conſideration a few general ideas on the plan of our ſociety; aſſuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleaſure and inſtruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the higheſt honour.

It is your deſign, I conceive, to take an ample

ſpace for your learned inveſtigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Aſia*; ſo that, conſidering *Hinduſtan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right, many important kingdoms in the Eaſtern peninſula, the ancient and wonderful empire of *China* with all her *Tartarian* dependencies, and that of *Japan*, with the cluſter of precious iſlands, in which many ſingular curioſities have too long been concealed: before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly perhaps were a barrier againſt the violence of the ſea, and beyond them the very intereſting country of *Tibet*, and the vaſt regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horſe of the poets, have iſſued ſo many conſummate warriors, whoſe domain has extended at leaſt from the banks of the *Iliſſus* to the mouths of the *Ganges:* on your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran* or *Perſia*, the unmeaſured, and perhaps unmeaſurable deſerts of *Arabia*, and the once flouriſhing kingdom of *Yemen*, with the pleaſant iſles that the *Arabs* have ſubdued or colonized; and farther weſtward, the *Aſiatick* dominions of the *Turkiſh* ſultans, whoſe moon ſeems approaching rapidly to its wane.—By this great circumference, the field of your uſeful reſearches will be incloſed; but, ſince *Egypt* had unqueſtionably an old con-

nection with this country, if not with *China*, ſince the language and literature of the *Abyſſinians* bear a manifeſt affinity to thoſe of *Aſia*, ſince the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynaſty on the continent of *Europe*, you may not be diſpleaſed occaſionally to follow the ſtreams of *Aſiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary; and, if it be neceſſary or convenient, that a ſhort name or epithet be given to our ſociety, in order to diſtinguiſh it in the world, that of *Aſiatick* appears both claſſical and proper, whether we conſider the place or the object of the inſtitution, and preferable to *Oriental*, which is in truth a word merely relative, and, though commonly uſed in *Europe*, conveys no very diſtinct idea.

If now it be aſked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within theſe ſpacious limits, we anſwer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analyſed according to the three great faculties of the mind, *memory*, *reaſon*, and *imagination*, which we conſtantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and diſtinguiſhing, combining and diverſifying, the ideas which we receive through our ſenſes, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of learning are

hiſtory, *ſcience*, and *art:* the firſt comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and ſtates; the ſecond embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematicks, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reaſoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, diſplayed in modulated language, or repreſented by colour, figure, or ſound.

Agreeably to this analyſis, you will inveſtigate whatever is rare in the ſtupendous fabrick of nature, will correct the geography of *Aſia* by new obſervations and diſcoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of thoſe nations, who from time to time have peopled or deſolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their inſtitutions civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, in trigonometry, menſuration, mechanicks, opticks, aſtronomy, and general phyſicks; their ſyſtems of morality, grammar, rhetorick, and dialectick; their ſkill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymiſtry. To this you will add reſearches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilſt you inquire with pleaſure into their muſick, architecture,

painting, and poetry, will not neglect thoſe inferior arts, by which the comforts and even elegances of ſocial life are ſupplied or improved. You may obſerve, that I have omitted their languages, the diverſity and difficulty of which are a ſad obſtacle to the progreſs of uſeful knowledge; but I have ever conſidered languages as the mere inſtruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itſelf: the attainment of them is, however, indiſpenſably neceſſary; and if to the *Perſian*, *Armenian*, *Turkiſh*, and *Arabick*, could be added not only the *Sanſcrit*, the treaſures of which we may now hope to ſee unlocked, but even the *Chineſe*, *Tartarian*, *Japaneſe*, and the various inſular dialects, an immenſe mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

Having ſubmitted to you theſe imperfect thoughts on the *limits* and *objects* of our future ſociety, I requeſt your permiſſion to add a few hints on the *conduct* of it in its preſent immature ſtate.

LUCIAN begins one of his ſatirical pieces againſt hiſtorians, with declaring that the only true propoſition in his work was, that it ſhould contain nothing true; and perhaps it may be adviſable at firſt, in order to prevent any difference of ſentiment on particular points not immediately

before us, to eſtabliſh but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only I mean, that, in the infancy of any ſociety, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expenſe, no unneceſſary formality. Let us, if you pleaſe, for the preſent, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpoſe of hearing original papers read on ſuch ſubjects, as fall within the circle of our inquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to ſend their tracts to our ſecretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks; and if, towards the end of each year, we ſhould be ſupplied with a ſufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us preſent our *Aſiatick* miſcellany to the literary world, who have derived ſo much pleaſure and information from the agreeable work of *Kœmpfer*, than which we can ſcarce propoſe a better model, that they will accept with eagerneſs any freſh entertainment of the ſame kind. You will not perhaps be diſpoſed to admit mere tranſlations of conſiderable length, except of ſuch unpubliſhed eſſays or treatiſes as may be tranſmitted to us by native authors; but, whether you will enrol as members any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other queſtions as they happen to ariſe; and you will think, I preſume, that all queſtions ſhould be decided on a ballot, by a majority of two

thirds, and that nine members ſhould be requiſite to conſtitute a board for ſuch deciſions. Theſe points, however, and all others I ſubmit entirely, gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wiſh nor pretenſion to claim any more than my ſingle right of ſuffrage. One thing only, as eſſential to your dignity, I recommend with earneſtneſs, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expreſſed a voluntary deſire to become ſo; and in that caſe, you will not require, I ſuppoſe, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

Your inſtitution, I am perſuaded, will ripen of itſelf, and your meetings will be amply ſupplied with intereſting and amuſing papers, as ſoon as the object of your inquiries ſhall be generally known. There are, it may not be delicate to name them, but there are many, from whoſe important ſtudies I cannot but conceive high expectations; and, as far as mere labour will avail, I ſincerely promiſe, that, if in my allotted ſphere of juriſprudence, or in any intellectual excurſion, that I may have leiſure to make, I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers, which may ſeem valuable or pleaſing, I ſhall offer my humble *Nezr* to your ſociety with as much reſpectful zeal as to the greateſt potentate on earth.

THE SECOND

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1785,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*, by whom all their juſt requeſts are believed to be granted with ſingular indulgence, had propoſed laſt year to gratify my warmeſt wiſhes, I could have deſired nothing more ardently than the ſucceſs of your inſtitution; becauſe I can deſire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan ſeems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many uſeful and intereſting tracts, which, being too ſhort for ſeparate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably periſh: my wiſhes are accompliſhed, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already paſſed its infant ſtate, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy and robuſt conſtitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of ſubjects, which have been diſcuſſed before you, concerning the hiſ-

tory, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Aſia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleaſure or my ſurpriſe be the greater; for I will not diſſemble, that your progreſs has far exceeded my expectations; and, though we muſt ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of thoſe excellent men, who have lately departed from this Capital, yet there is a proſpect ſtill of large contributions to your ſtock of *Aſiatick* learning, which, I am perſuaded, will continually increaſe. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to aſſure you, that many of your members, who reſide at a diſtance, employ a part of their leiſure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unleſs I am too ſanguine, you will ſoon receive light from them on ſeveral topicks entirely new in the republick of letters.

It was principally with a deſign to open ſources of ſuch information, that I long had meditated an expedition up the *Ganges* during the ſuſpenſion of my buſineſs; but, although I had the ſatisfaction of viſiting two ancient ſeats of *Hindu* ſuperſtition and literature, yet, illneſs having detained me a conſiderable time in the way, it was not in my power to continue in them long enough to purſue my inquiries; and I left them, as ÆNEAS is feigned to have left the ſhades, when his guide made him recollect *the ſwift flight of irrevocable time*, with a curioſity

raiſed to the height, and a regret not eaſy to be deſcribed.

Whoever travels in *Aſia*, eſpecially if he be converſant with the literature of the countries through which he paſſes, muſt naturally remark the ſuperiority of *European* talents: the obſervation, indeed, is at leaſt as old as ALEXANDER; and, though we cannot agree with the ſage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that "the *Aſiaticks* are born to be ſlaves," yet the *Athenian* poet ſeems perfectly in the right, when he repreſents *Europe* as a *ſovereign Princeſs*, and *Aſia* as *her Handmaid:* but, if the miſtreſs be tranſcendently majeſtick, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and ſome advantages peculiar to herſelf. The ancients were accuſtomed to pronounce *panegyricks* on their own countrymen at the expenſe of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of ſtimulating them by praiſe, and exciting them to ſtill greater exertions; but ſuch arts are here unneceſſary; nor would they, indeed, become a ſociety, who ſeek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetorick; and, although we muſt be conſcious of our ſuperior advancement in all kinds of uſeful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to contemn the people of *Aſia*, from whoſe reſearches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be de-

rived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your inſtitution, little elſe could ariſe from it but the mere gratification of curioſity; and I ſhould not receive ſo much delight from the humble ſhare, which you have allowed me to take, in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Weſtern and Eaſtern worlds, would require a tract of no inconſiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reaſon and taſte are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Aſiaticks* have ſoared to loftier heights in the ſphere of imagination. The civil hiſtory of their vaſt empires, and of *India* in particular, muſt be highly intereſting to our common country; but we have a ſtill nearer intereſt in knowing all former modes of ruling *theſe ineſtimable provinces*, on the proſperity of which ſo much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, ſeems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, but, for evident reaſons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is cloſely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of theſe territories, eſpecially in the *vegetable* and *mineral* ſyſtems, are momentous objects of reſearch to an *imperial*,

but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial*, people.

If *Botany* may be deſcribed by metaphors drawn from the ſcience itſelf, we may juſtly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *claſſes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *ſpecies*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purpoſes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diſeaſes may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the laſt mentioned art, than which none ſurely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* alſo ſhould be accurately known. So highly has medical ſkill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's*, or *precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was *a learned phyſician*. What their old books contain on this ſubject, we ought certainly to diſcover, and that without loſs of time; leſt the venerable but abſtruſe language, in which they are compoſed, ſhould ceaſe to be perfectly intelligible, even to the beſt educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to ſtudy it. BERNIER, who was himſelf of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanſcrit*, and cites a few aphoriſms,

which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing ſo important from the works of *Hindu* or *Muſelman* phyſicians, as the knowledge, which experience muſt have given them, of *ſimple* medicines. I have ſeen an *Indian* preſcription of *fifty-four*, and another of *ſixty-ſix*, ingredients; but ſuch compoſitions are always to be ſuſpected, ſince the effect of one ingredient may deſtroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a ſingle leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the moſt elaborate compounds, unleſs they too have been proved by a multitude of ſucceſsful experiments. The noble deobſtruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balſams*, the incomparable ſtomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine aſtringent ridiculouſly called *Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been uſed in *Aſia*; and who can foretel what glorious discoveries of other oils, roots, and ſalutary juices, may be made by your ſociety? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be ſupplied by ſome indigenous vegetable equally antiſeptick, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatiſes on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of theſe provinces, I am not yet informed; but ſince the court of *Spain* ex-

pect to find uſeful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preſerved in the *Eſcurial*, on *the cultivation of land in that kingdom*, we ſhould inquire for ſimilar compoſitions, and examine the contents of ſuch as we can procure.

The ſublime ſcience of Chymiſtry, which I was on the point of calling *divine*, muſt be added, as a key to the richeſt treaſuries of nature; and it is impoſſible to foreſee how greatly it may improve our *manufactures*, eſpecially if it can fix thoſe brilliant *dyes*, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their ſplendour; or how far it may lead to new methods of *fluxing and compounding metals*, which the *Indians*, as well as the *Chineſe*, are thought to have practiſed in higher perfection than ourſelves.

In thoſe elegant arts, which are called *fine* and *liberal*, though of leſs general utility than the labours of the mechanick, it is really wonderful how much a ſingle nation has excelled the whole world: I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whoſe *Sculpture*, of which we have exquiſite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whoſe *Architecture* we can only imitate at a ſervile diſtance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without deſtroying its graceful ſimplicity; whoſe *Poetry* ſtill delights us in youth, and amuſes us at a maturer age; and of

whoſe *Painting* and *Muſick* we have the concurrent relations of ſo many grave authors, that it would be ſtrange incredulity to doubt their excellence. *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the Eaſt: but the *Hindu* ſyſtem of *muſick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the ſkill of the native compoſers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expreſſion of ſtrong paſſions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often ſacrificed: though ſome of their tunes are pleaſing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the ſame may be truly aſſerted of the *Arabian* or *Perſian* ſyſtem; and, by a correct explanation of the beſt books on that ſubject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

The *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, which differ ſurpriſingly in their ſtyle and form, are here pretty generally known; and, though taſtes, concerning which there can be no diſputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may ſafely ſay of them, what ABULFAZL pronounces of the *Mahábhárat*, that, "although "they abound with extravagant images and de- "ſcriptions, they are in the higheſt degree enter- "taining and inſtructive." Poets of the greateſt genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PE-

TRARCA, SHAKESPEAR, SPENSER, have moſt abounded in images not far from the brink of abſurdity; but, if their luxuriant fancies, or thoſe of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their ſtrength and majeſty, we ſhould loſe many pleaſures by the amputation. If we may form a juſt opinion of the *Sanſcrit* poetry from the ſpecimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by conſulting the originals), we cannot but thirſt for the whole work of VYA'SA, with which a member of our ſociety, whoſe preſence deters me from ſaying more of him, will in due time gratify the publick. The poetry of *Mathurà*, which is the *Parnaſſian* land of the *Hindus*, has a ſofter and leſs elevated ſtrain; but, ſince the inhabitants of the diſtricts near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are ſaid to ſurpaſs all other *Indians* in eloquence, and to have compoſed many agreeable tales and loveſongs, which are ſtill extant, the *Bhâſhâ*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, ſhould not be neglected. No ſpecimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Aſia* from the earlieſt ages: the *Vêda's*, as well as the *Alcoran*, are written in meaſured

proſe; and the compoſitions of ISOCRATES are not more highly poliſhed than thoſe of the beſt *Arabian* and *Perſian* authors.

Of the *Hindu* and *Muſelman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Bahar*, and ſome in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even thoſe ruins, of which you will, I truſt, be preſented with correct delineations, may furniſh our own architects with new ideas of beauty and ſublimity.

Permit me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly ſo named; in which it muſt be admitted, that the *Aſiaticks*, if compared with our Weſtern nations, are mere children. One of the moſt ſagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, SAMUEL JOHNSON, remarked in my hearing, that, "if NEWTON had flouriſhed in ancient "*Greece*, he would have been worſhipped as a "divinity:" how zealouſly then would he be adored in *Hinduſtan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Caſhmír* or *Benares!* I have ſeen a mathematical book in *Sanſcrit* of the higheſt antiquity; but ſoon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only ſimple elements: there may, indeed, have been, in the favourable atmoſphere of *Aſia*, ſome diligent obſervers of the celeſtial bodies, and ſuch obſervations, as are

recorded, ſhould indiſputably be made publick; but let us not expect any new *methods*, or the analyſis of new *curves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkiſtan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NEWTON of *Sicily*, be reſtored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* verſions, we might then have reaſon to triumph on the ſucceſs of our ſcientifical inquiries; or could the ſucceſſive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boaſted that he had acceſs, the modern Hiſtory of *Mathematicks* would receive conſiderable illuſtration.

The Juriſprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muſelmans* will produce more immediate advantage; and, if ſome ſtandard *law-tracts* were accurately tranſlated from the *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to ſee ſo complete a Digeſt of *Indian* Laws, that all diſputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainty*, which is in truth a diſgrace, though ſatirically called a *glory*, to the forenſick ſcience.

All theſe objects of inquiry muſt appear to you, Gentlemen, in ſo ſtrong a light, that bare intimations of them will be ſufficient; nor is it neceſſary to make uſe of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent purſuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expreſſing a wiſh, that the activity of the *French* in the ſame purſuits may not be ſuperior

to ours, and that the reſearches of M. SONNERAT, whom the court of *Verſailles* employed for ſeven years in theſe climates, merely to collect ſuch materials as we are ſeeking, may kindle, inſtead of abating, our own curioſity and zeal. If you aſſent, as I flatter myſelf you do, to theſe opinions, you will alſo concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having preſented themſelves to my mind, I preſume to lay them before you, with an entire ſubmiſſion to your judgement.

No contributions, except thoſe of the literary kind, will be requiſite for the ſupport of the ſociety; but, if each of us were occaſionally to contribute a ſuccinct deſcription of ſuch manuſcripts as he had peruſed or inſpected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propoſe for ſolution ſuch *queſtions* as had occurred to him concerning *Aſiatick* Art, Science, and Hiſtory, natural or civil, we ſhould poſſeſs without labour, and almoſt by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books, than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correſpondents would be appriſed of thoſe points, to which we chiefly direct our inveſtigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, phyſicians, or private ſcholars, who would eagerly, on the firſt invitation, ſend us their *Mekámát*

and *Riſálahs* on a variety of ſubjects; ſome for the ſake of advancing general knowledge, but moſt of them from a deſire, neither uncommon nor unreaſonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themſelves to favour. With a view to avail ourſelves of this diſpoſition, and to bring their latent ſcience under our inſpection, it might be adviſable to print and circulate a ſhort memorial, in *Perſian* and *Hindi*, ſetting forth, in a ſtyle accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the deſign of our inſtitution; nor would it be impoſſible hereafter, to give a medal annually, with inſcriptions in *Perſian* on one ſide, and on the reverſe in *Sanſcrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the beſt eſſay or diſſertation. To inſtruct others is the preſcribed duty of learned *Brahmans*, and, if they be men of ſubſtance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of diſtinction; and the *Mahomedans* have not only the permiſſion, but the poſitive command, of their law-giver, *to ſearch for learning even in the remoteſt parts of the globe.* It were ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt, with how much correctneſs and facility their compoſitions might be tranſlated for our uſe, ſince their languages are now more generally and perfectly underſtood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe.*

I have detained you, I fear, too long by this

addreſs, though it has been my endeavour to reconcile comprehenſiveneſs with brevity: the ſubjects, which I have lightly ſketched, would be found, if minutely examined, to be inexhauſtible; and, ſince no limits can be ſet to your reſearches but the boundaries of *Aſia* itſelf, I may not improperly conclude with wiſhing for your ſociety, what the Commentator on the Laws, prays for the conſtitution, of our country, that IT MAY BE PERPETUAL.

THE THIRD
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1786.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

IN the former diſcourſes, which I had the honour of addreſſing to you, Gentlemen, on the *inſtitution* and *objects* of our Society, I confined myſelf purpoſely to general topicks; giving in the firſt a diſtant proſpect of the vaſt career, on which we were entering, and, in the ſecond, exhibiting a more diffuſe, but ſtill ſuperficial, ſketch of the various diſcoveries in Hiſtory, Science, and Art, which we might juſtly expect from our inquiries into the literature of *Aſia*. I now propoſe to fill up that outline ſo comprehenſively as to omit nothing eſſential, yet ſo conciſely as to avoid being tedious; and, if the ſtate of my health ſhall ſuffer me to continue long enough in this climate, it is my deſign, with your permiſſion, to prepare for our annual meetings a ſeries of ſhort diſſertations, unconnected in their titles and ſubjects, but all tending

to a common point of no ſmall importance in the purſuit of intereſting truths.

Of all the works, which have been publiſhed in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the Hiſtory of the Ancient World, and *the firſt population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the beſt claim to the praiſe of deep erudition ingeniouſly applied, and new theories happily illuſtrated by an aſſemblage of numberleſs converging rays from a moſt extenſive circumference: it falls, nevertheleſs, as every human work muſt fall, ſhort of perfection; and the leaſt ſatisfactory part of it ſeems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from *Aſiatick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, ſome uſe in hiſtorical reſearches; but it is a medium of proof ſo very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obſcures a thouſand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any ſolid concluſion: it rarely carries with it any *internal* power of conviction from a reſemblance of ſounds or ſimilarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unaſſiſted by thoſe advantages, it may be indiſputably proved by *extrinſick* evidence. We know *à poſteriori*, that both *fitz* and *hijo*, by the nature of two ſeveral dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *ſtranger* from *extra*; that *jour*

is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *roſſignol* from *luſcinia*, or the *ſinger in groves*; that *ſciuro*, *écureuil*, and *ſquirrel* are compounded of two *Greek* words deſcriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonſtrated *à priori*, might ſerve to confirm, if any ſuch confirmation were neceſſary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *hanger*, or *ſhort pendent ſword*, from the *Perſian*, becauſe ignorant travellers thus misſpell the word *khanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *ſandal-wood* from the *Greek*, becauſe we ſuppoſe, that *ſandals* were ſometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwiſe be firmly ſupported. That CU'S then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, CU'T, and in others, probably, CA'S, enters into the compoſition of many proper names, we may very reaſonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *iſland*, cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from thoſe words, we cannot but obſerve, in the firſt inſtance, that the town, in which we now are aſſembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicàt*; that

both *Cátá* and *Cút* unqueſtionably mean *places of ſtrength*, or, in general, any *incloſures*; and that *Gujaràt* is at leaſt as remote from *Jezirah* in ſound, as it is in ſituation.

Another exception (and a third could hardly be diſcovered by any candid criticiſm) to the *Analyſis of Ancient Mythology*, is, that the *method* of reaſoning and arrangement of topicks adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almoſt wholly *ſynthetical*; and, though *ſyntheſis* may be the better mode in pure *ſcience*, where the principles are undeniable, yet it ſeems leſs calculated to give complete ſatisfaction in *hiſtorical* diſquiſitions, where every poſtulatum will perhaps be refuſed, and every definition controverted: this may ſeem a ſlight objection, but the ſubject is in itſelf ſo intereſting, and the full conviction of all reaſonable men ſo deſirable, that it may not be loſt labour to diſcuſs the ſame or a ſimilar theory in a method purely analytical, and, after beginning with facts of general notoriety or undiſputed evidence, to inveſtigate ſuch truths, as are at firſt unknown or very imperfectly diſcerned.

The *five* principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themſelves, as a kind of inheritance, the vaſt continent of *Aſia*, with the many iſlands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chineſe*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and

the *Perſians*: *who* they ſeverally were, *whence*, and *when* they came, *where* they now are ſettled, and *what advantage* a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* world, will be ſhown, I truſt, in *five* diſtinct eſſays; the laſt of which will demonſtrate the connexion or diverſity between them, and ſolve the great problem, whether they had *any* common origin, and whether that origin was *the ſame*, which we generally aſcribe to them.

I begin with *India*, not becauſe I find reaſon to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, becauſe it is the country, which we now inhabit, and from which we may beſt ſurvey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we ſpeak of the *riſing* ſun, and of his *progreſs through the Zodiack*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonſtrated, that he is himſelf the centre of our planetary ſyſtem. Let me here premiſe, that, in all theſe inquiries concerning the hiſtory of *India*, I ſhall confine my reſearches downwards to the *Mohammedan* conqueſts at the beginning of the *eleventh* century, but extend them upwards, as high as poſſible, to the earlieſt authentick records of the human ſpecies.

India then, on its moſt enlarged ſcale, in which the ancients appear to have underſtood it, compriſes an area of near *forty* degrees on each

ſide, including a ſpace almoſt as large as all *Europe*; being divided on the weſt from *Perſia* by the *Arachoſian* mountains, limited on the eaſt by the *Chineſe* part of the farther peninſula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the ſouth as far as the iſles of *Java*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the ſtupendous hills of *Potyid* or *Tibet*, the beautiful valley of *Caſhmír*, and all the domains of the old *Indoſcythians*, the countries of *Népál* and *Butánt*, *Cámrùp* or *Aſàm*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of the *Hindus* or *Sín* of the *Arabian* Geographers; not to mention the whole weſtern peninſula with the celebrated iſland of *Sinhala*, or *Lion-like men*, at its ſouthern extremity. By *India*, in ſhort, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or leſs of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nágarì* letters are ſtill uſed with more or leſs deviation from their original form.

The *Hindus* themſelves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medhyama* or *Central*, and *Punyabhúmi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of BHARAT, one of *nine* brothers, whoſe father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they re-

preſent the mountains of *Himálaya* as lying to the north, and, to the weſt, thoſe of *Vindhya*, called alſo *Vindian* by the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in ſeveral branches to the ſea, and meets it nearly oppoſite to the point of *Dwáracà*, the celebrated ſeat of their Shepherd God: in the *ſouth-eaſt* they place the great river *Saravatya*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, called alſo *Airávati* in part of its courſe, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sabara*. This domain of *Bharat* they conſider as the middle of the *Jambudwípa*, which the *Tibetians* alſo call the Land of *Zambu*; and the appellation is extremely remarkable; for *Jambu* is the *Sanſcrit* name of a delicate fruit called *Jáman* by the *Muſelmans*, and by us *roſe-apple*; but the largeſt and richeſt ſort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the Mythologiſts of *Tibet* apply the ſame word to a celeſtial tree bearing *ambroſial fruit*, and adjoining to *four* vaſt rocks, from which as many ſacred rivers derive their ſeveral ſtreams.

The inhabitants of this extenſive tract are deſcribed by Mr. LORD with great exactneſs, and with a pictureſque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people, ſays he, preſented "themſelves to mine eyes, clothed in linen gar-"ments ſomewhat low deſcending, of a geſture "and garb, as I may ſay, maidenly and well

" nigh effeminate, of a countenance ſhy and " ſomewhat eſtranged, yet ſmiling out a glozed " and baſhful familiarity." Mr. ORME, the Hiſtorian of *India*, who unites an exquiſite taſte for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of *Aſiatick* manners, obſerves, in his elegant preliminary Diſſertation, that this " country has " been inhabited from the earlieſt antiquity by " a people, who have no reſemblance, either in " their figure or manners, with any of the na- " tions contiguous to them," and that, " although " conquerors have eſtabliſhed themſelves at dif- " ferent times in different parts of *India*, yet the " original inhabitants have loſt very little of " their original character." The ancients, in fact, give a deſcription of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own perſonal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive from a paſſage in the Geographical Poem of DIONYSIUS, which the Analyſt of Ancient Mythology has tranſlated with great ſpirit;

" To th' eaſt a lovely country wide extends,
" INDIA, whoſe borders the wide ocean bounds;
" On this the ſun, new riſing from the main,
" Smiles pleas'd, and ſheds his early orient beam.
" Th' inhabitants are ſwart, and in their locks
" Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
" Various their functions; ſome the rock explore,
" And from the mine extract the latent gold;
" Some labour at the woof with cunning ſkill,

" And manufacture linen; others ſhape
" And poliſh iv'ry with the niceſt care:
" Many retire to rivers ſhoal, and plunge
" To ſeek the beryl flaming in its bed,
" Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jaſper's found
" Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too
" Of ray ſerene and pleaſing; laſt of all
" The lovely amethyſt, in which combine
" All the mild ſhades of purple. The rich ſoil,
" Waſh'd by a thouſand rivers, from all ſides
" Pours on the natives wealth without control."

Their ſources of wealth are ſtill abundant even after ſo many revolutions and conqueſts; in their manufactures of cotton they ſtill ſurpaſs all the world; and their features have, moſt probably, remained unaltered ſince the time of DIONYSIUS; nor can we reaſonably doubt, how degenerate and abaſed ſo ever the *Hindus* may now appear, that in ſome early age they were ſplendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wiſe in legiſlation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, ſince their civil hiſtory beyond the middle of the *nineteenth* century from the preſent time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we ſeem to poſſeſs only *four* general media of ſatisfying our curioſity concerning it; namely, firſt, their *Languages* and *Letters*; ſecondly, their *Philoſophy* and *Religion*; thirdly, the actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and fourthly, the written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

I. It is much to be lamented, that neither the *Greeks*, who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor thoſe who were long connected with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hinduſtan*, or *India* on a limited ſcale, ſpeaking a *Bháſhá*, or living tongue of a very ſingular conſtruction, the pureſt dialect of which was current in the diſtricts round *Agrà*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'hurà*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in ſix, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanſcrit*, in which books of religion and ſcience were compoſed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquiſite grammatical *arrangement*, as the name itſelf implies, from ſome unpoliſhed idiom; but the baſis of the *Hinduſtánì*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both thoſe tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Perſian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conqueſt is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its groundwork, but to blend with it a conſiderable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can

recollect, where the conquerors have not preſerved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindì*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *Sanſcrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in ſome very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was uſed in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brahmà* has prevailed in it.

The *Sanſcrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful ſtructure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquiſitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a ſtronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could poſſibly have been produced by accident; ſo ſtrong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have ſprung from ſome common ſource, which, perhaps, no longer exiſts: there is a ſimilar reaſon, though not quite ſo forcible, for ſuppoſing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the ſame origin with the *Sanſcrit*; and the old *Perſian* might be added to the ſame family, if

this were the place for diſcuſſing any queſtion concerning the antiquities of *Perſia*.

The *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nágarí*, from *Nagara*, a city with the word *Déva* ſometimes prefixed, becauſe they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himſelf, who preſcribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. Theſe letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of ſtraight lines to curves, or converſely, than the *Cufick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are ſtill adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and ſtates, from the borders of *Caſhgar* and *Khoten*, to *Ráma's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the poliſhed and elegant *Dévanágarí* may not be ſo ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jaraſandha*, that the ſquare *Chaldaick* letters, in which moſt *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the ſame, or derived from the ſame prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters: that the *Phœnician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inverſions, had a ſimilar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inſcriptions at *Canárah*, of which you now poſſeſs a moſt accurate copy, ſeem to be compounded of *Nágari* and *Ethio-*

pick letters, which bear a cloſe relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the ſingular manner of connecting the vowels with the conſonants. Theſe remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the ſymbols of *ſound*, which at firſt, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of ſpeech, had a common origin: the ſymbols of *ideas*, now uſed in *China* and *Japan*, and formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a diſtinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *ſounds* in the *Chineſe* grammars correſponds nearly with that obſerved in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that, which the *Hindus* conſider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the *Indian* Religion and Philoſophy, I ſhall here ſay but little; becauſe a full account of each would require a ſeparate volume: it will be ſufficient in this diſſertation to aſſume, what might be proved beyond controverſy, that we now live among the adorers of thoſe very deities, who were worſhipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the profeſſors of thoſe philoſophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illuſtrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we ſee the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the ſatyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID,

and the chariot of the *Sun*; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the ſongs of the *Muſes*, and the paſtoral tales of APOLLO NOMIUS. In more retired ſcenes, in groves, and in ſeminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Bráhmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by CLEMENS, diſputing in the forms of *logick*, or diſcourſing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the ſoul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debaſement, wanderings, and final union with her ſource. The *ſix* philoſophical ſchools, whoſe principles are explained in the *Derſana Sàſtra*, compriſe all the metaphyſicks of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum*; nor is it poſſible to read the *Vèdánta*, or the many fine compoſitions in illuſtration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their ſublime theories from the ſame fountain with the ſages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may alſo be traced in every part of theſe eaſtern regions; nor can we doubt, that WOD or ODEN, whoſe religion, as the northern hiſtorians admit, was introduced into *Scandinavia* by a foreign race, was the ſame with BUDDH, whoſe rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the ſame time, though received much later by the *Chineſe*, who ſoften his name into FO'.

This may be a proper place to aſcertain an

important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*; for the prieſts of BUDDHA left in *Tibet* and *China* the preciſe epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire; and their information, which had been preſerved in writing, was compared by the *Chriſtian* Miſſionaries and ſcholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GIORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* ſeems the moſt correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four ſeveral dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year one *thouſand* and *fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cáſhmirians*, who boaſt of his deſcent in their kingdom, aſſert that he appeared on earth about *two* centuries after CRISHNA the *Indian* APOLLO, who took ſo decided a part in the war of the *Mahábhárat*; and, if an Etymologiſt were to ſuppoſe, that the *Athenians* had embelliſhed their poetical hiſtory of PANDION's expulſion and the reſtoration of ÆGEUS with the *Aſiatick* tale of the PANDUS and YUDHISHTIR, neither of which words they could have articulated, I ſhould not haſtily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that *Pándumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have, therefore, determined another intereſt-

ing epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thouſandth* year from the preſent time; and, as the three firſt *Avatàrs*, or deſcents of VISHNU, relate no leſs clearly to *an* Univerſal Deluge, in which eight perſons only were ſaved, than the *fourth* and *fifth* do to the *puniſhment of impiety* and the *humiliation* of the *proud*, we may for the preſent aſſume, that the *ſecond*, or *ſilver*, age of the *Hindus* was ſubſequent to the diſperſion from *Babel*; ſo that we have only a dark interval of about a *thouſand* years, which were employed in the ſettlement of nations, the foundation of ſtates or empires, and the cultivation of civil ſociety. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA'MA but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful reſemblance to the *Indian* BACCHUS, and his wars are the ſubject of ſeveral heroick poems. He is repreſented as a deſcendent from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the huſband of SI'TA', and the ſon of a princeſs named CAU'SELYA': it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whoſe *Incas* boaſted of the ſame deſcent, ſtyled their greateſt feſtival *Ramaſitoa*; whence we may ſuppoſe, that South *America* was peopled by the ſame race, who imported into the fartheſt parts of *Aſia* the rites and fabulous hiſtory of RA'MA. Theſe rites and this hiſtory are extremely curious; and, although I cannot believe

with NEWTON, that ancient mythology was nothing but hiſtorical truth in a poetical dreſs, nor, with BACON, that it conſiſted ſolely of moral and metaphyſical allegories, nor with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and repreſentations of the Sun or of deceaſed progenitors, but conceive that the whole ſyſtem of religious fables roſe, like the *Nile*, from ſeveral diſtinct ſources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great ſpring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vaſt body of fire, which "looks from his ſole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate reſpect ſhown to the memory of powerful or virtuous anceſtors, eſpecially the founders of kingdoms, legiſlators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly ſuppoſed to be the parents.

III. The remains of *architecture* and *ſculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as ſpecimens of ancient art, ſeem to prove an early connection between this country and *Africa:* the pyramids of *Egypt*, the coloſſal ſtatues deſcribed by PAUSANIAS and others, the ſphinx, and the HERMES *Canis*, which laſt bears a great reſemblance to the *Varáhávatár*, or the incarnation of VISHNU in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the ſtyle and mythology of the

ſame indefatigable workmen, who formed the vaſt excavations of *Cánárah*, the various temples and images of BUDDHA, and the idols, which are continually dug up at *Gayá*, or in its vicinity. The letters on many of thoſe monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and partly of *Abyſſinian* or *Ethiopick*, origin; and all theſe indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Ethiopia* and *Hinduſtán* were peopled or colonized by the ſame extraordinary race; in confirmation of which, it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Bahár* can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in ſome of their features, particularly their lips and noſes, from the modern *Abyſſinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CU'SH: and the ancient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans*, but in the ſtraitneſs and ſmoothneſs of their hair, while that of the others was criſp or woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the reſpective humidity or dryneſs of their atmoſpheres: hence the people who *received the firſt light of the riſing ſun*, according to the limited knowledge of the ancients, are ſaid by APULEIUS to be the *Arü* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently ſee figures of BUDDHA with

curled hair apparently deſigned for a repreſentation of it in its natural ſtate.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sáſtra*, or *collection of treatiſes on Arts* and *Manufactures*, which muſt have contained a treaſure of uſeful information on *dying*, *painting*, and *metallurgy*, has been ſo long neglected, that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian* loom and needle have been univerſally celebrated; and *fine linen* is not improbably ſuppoſed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the higheſt perfection: the people of *Colchis* were alſo famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIAL containing the moſt authentick delineation of ancient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly aſcribed to the people of *Serica* or *Tancùt*, among whom probably the word *Sèr*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *ſilk-worm*, ſignified gold; a ſenſe, which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reaſons to believe; and in the firſt of their ſacred law-tracts, which they ſuppoſe to have been revealed

by MENU many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious paſſage on the legal *intereſt* of money, and the limited rate of it in different caſes, with an exception in regard to *adventures* at *ſea*; an exception, which the ſenſe of mankind approves, and which commerce abſolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of CHARLES I. that our own juriſprudence fully admitted it in reſpect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wiſeſt of nations; and in moral wiſdom, they were certainly eminent: their *Niti Sáſtra*, or *Syſtem* of *Ethicks*, is yet preſerved, and the Fables of VISHNUSERMAN, whom we ridiculouſly call *Pilpay*, are the moſt beautiful, if not the moſt ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were firſt tranſlated from the *Sanſcrit*, in the *ſixth* century, by the order of BUZERCHUMIHR, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief phyſician and afterwards *Vézír* of the great ANU'SHIREVA'N, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitópadéſa*, or *Amicable Inſtruction*; and, as the very exiſtence of ESOP, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyſſinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not diſinclined to ſuppoſe, that the firſt *moral fables*, which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

The *Hindus* are ſaid to have boaſted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of inſtructing by *apologues*, the *decimal ſcale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Cheſs*, on which they have ſome curious treatiſes; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Muſick, all which are extant and acceſſible, were explained in ſome language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretenſions to the praiſe of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter Poems are lively and elegant; their Epick, magnificent and ſublime in the higheſt degree; their *Puráná's* compriſe a ſeries of mythological Hiſtories in blank verſe from the *Creation* to the ſuppoſed incarnation of BUDDHA; and their *Védas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called *Upaniſhat*, abound with noble ſpeculations in metaphyſicks, and fine diſcourſes on the being and attributes of GOD. Their moſt ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at leaſt one *ſacred* compoſition aſcribed to him; but, as to mere human works on *Hiſtory* and *Geography*, though they are ſaid to be extant in *Caſhmír*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their *aſtronomical* and *mathematical* writings contain, will

not, I truſt, remain long a ſecret: they are eaſily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philoſopher, whoſe works are ſaid to include a ſyſtem of the univerſe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* poſition of the ſun, is named YAVAN ACHA'RYA, becauſe he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia*: if this be true, he might have been one of thoſe, who converſed with PYTHAGORAS; this at leaſt is undeniable, that a book on aſtronomy in *Sanſcrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jática*, which may ſignify the *Ionic Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal* ſtars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldeſt *Indian* records, were originally deviſed by the ſame ingenious and enterpriſing race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS deſcribes them,

——— 'firſt aſſayed the deep,
'And wafted merchandize to coaſts unknown,
'Thoſe, who digeſted firſt the ſtarry choir,
'Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.'

Of theſe curſory obſervations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illuſtrate, this is the reſult: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*,

and *Tuſcans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reaſon appears for believing, that they were a colony from any one of thoſe nations, or any of thoſe nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from ſome *central* country, to inveſtigate which will be the object of my future Diſcourſes; and I have a ſanguine hope, that your collections during the preſent year will bring to light many uſeful diſcoveries; although the departure for *Europe* of a very ingenious member, who firſt opened the ineſtimable mine of *Sanſcrit* literature, will often deprive us of accurate and ſolid information concerning the languages and antiquities of *India*.

THE FOURTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 15 FEBRUARY, 1787.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD the honour laſt year of opening to you my intention, to diſcourſe at our annual meetings on the *five* principal nations, who have peopled the continent and iſlands of *Aſia;* ſo as to trace, by an hiſtorical and philological analyſis, the number of ancient ſtems, from which thoſe five branches have ſeverally ſprung, and the central region, from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having ſubmitted to your conſideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India*, I ſhould now offer my ſentiments on ſome other nation, who, from a ſimilarity of *language*, *religion*, *arts*, and *manners*, may be ſuppoſed to have had an early connection with the *Hindus*; but, ſince we find ſome *Aſiatick* nations totally diſſimilar to them in all or moſt of thoſe particulars, and ſince the difference will ſtrike you more forcibly by an immediate and cloſe compariſon,

I deſign at preſent to give a ſhort account of a wonderful people, who ſeem in every reſpect ſo ſtrongly contraſted to the original natives of this country, that they muſt have been for ages a diſtinct and ſeparate race.

For the purpoſe of theſe diſcourſes, I conſidered *India* on its largeſt ſcale, deſcribing it as lying between *Perſia* and *China*, *Tartary* and *Java*; and, for the ſame purpoſe, I now apply the name of *Arabia*, as the *Arabian* Geographers often apply it, to that extenſive Peninſula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Aſſyrian* river from *Iràn*, and of which the *Erythrean* Sea waſhes the baſe; without excluding any part of its weſtern ſide, which would be completely maritime, if no iſthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean*, and the Sea of *Kolzom*: that country in ſhort I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or ſuch as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

Arabia, thus divided from *India* by a vaſt ocean, or at leaſt by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been conſiderably improved: yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Yemen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the firſt inſtruments of conveying to the weſtern

world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *álluwwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanſcrit*, which grows in the greateſt perfection in *Anam* or *Cochinchina*. It is poſſible too, that a part of the *Arabian* Idolatry might have been derived from the ſame ſource with that of the *Hindus*; but ſuch an intercourſe may be conſidered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a paſſage in the Hiſtory of Prince KANTEMIR, that the *Turks* have any juſt reaſon for holding the coaſt of *Yemen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Yellow Indians*.

The *Arabs* have never been entirely ſubdued; nor has any impreſſion been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the *Phenicians*, *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Othmàn Tartars*, have ſeverally acquired ſettlements; but, with theſe exceptions, the natives of *Hejàz* and *Yemen* have preſerved for ages the ſole dominion of their deſerts and paſtures, their mountains and fertile valleys: thus, apart from the reſt of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themſelves. All the genuine *Arabs* of

Syria whom I knew in *Europe*, thoſe of *Yemen*, whom I ſaw in the iſle of *Hinzuàn*, whither many had come from *Maſkat* for the purpoſe of trade, and thoſe of *Hejàz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a ſtriking contraſt to the *Hindu* inhabitants of theſe provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their ſpeech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehenſion quick, their minds always preſent and attentive; with a ſpirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the loweſt among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each meaſuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but, if courteſy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues be a juſter meaſure of perfect ſociety, we have certain proof, that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical ſtates, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conqueſt of *Perſia*.

It is deplorable, that the ancient Hiſtory of this majeſtick race ſhould be as little known in detail before the time of *Dhú Yezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramáditya*; for, although the vaſt hiſtorical work of *Alnuwairì*, and the *Murúju'ldhahab*, or *Golden Meadows*, of *Almaſúúdì*, contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*, *Ghaſàn*, and *Hírah*, with liſts of them and

ſketches of their ſeveral reigns, and although Genealogical Tables, from which chronology might be better aſcertained, are prefixed to many compoſitions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet moſt manuſcripts are ſo incorrect, and ſo many contradictions are found in the beſt of them, that we can ſcarce lean upon tradition with ſecurity, and muſt have recourſe to the ſame media for inveſtigating the hiſtory of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indians*; namely, their *language*, *letters* and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I ſhall touch very conciſely, having premiſed, that my obſervations will in general be confined to the ſtate of *Arabia* before that ſingular revolution, at the beginning of the *ſeventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the fartheſt parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the Eaſtern Iſlands.

I. For the knowledge, which any *European*, who pleaſes, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the univerſity of *Leyden*; for, though ſeveral *Italians* have aſſiduouſly laboured in the ſame wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almoſt uſeleſs by more commodious and more accurate works printed in *Holland*; and, though Pocock certainly accompliſhed much, and was able to

accompliſh any thing, yet the *Academical* eaſe, which he enjoyed, and his theological purſuits, induced him to leave unfiniſhed the valuable work of *Maidáni*, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* Philology had ſeen the light, would it have borne any compariſon with the fifty diſſertations of *Hariri*, which the firſt ALBERT SCHULTENS tranſlated and explained, though he ſent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandſon, from whom perhaps *Maidáni* alſo may be expected, the honour of publiſhing the reſt: but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to GOLIUS, whoſe works are equally profound and elegant; ſo perſpicuous in method, that they may always be conſulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet ſo abundant in matter, that any man, who ſhall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar compiled by his maſter ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to ſtudy his Hiſtory of *Taimùr* by *Ibni Arabſhàh*, and ſhall make himſelf complete maſter of that ſublime work, will underſtand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepeſt ſcholar at *Conſtantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almoſt wholly in our power; and, as it is unqueſtionably one of the moſt ancient in the world, ſo it yields to none ever ſpoken by mortals in

the number of its words and the preciſion of its phraſes; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the leaſt reſemblance, either in words or the ſtructure of them, to the *Sanſcrit*, or great parent of the *Indian* dialects; of which diſſimilarity I will mention two remarkable inſtances: the *Sanſcrit*, like the *Greek*, *Perſian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but, in a much higher degree, and indeed to ſuch exceſs, that I could produce words of more than twenty ſyllables, not formed ludicrouſly, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES deſcribes a feaſt, but with perfect ſerioufneſs, on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and in the moſt elegant works; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its ſiſter dialects, abhor the compoſition of words, and invariably expreſs very complex ideas by circumlocution; ſo that, if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian* Peninſula, *(zenmerdah* for inſtance, which occurs in the *Hamáſah)* it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again; it is the genius of the *Sanſcrit*, and other languages of the ſame ſtock, that the roots of verbs be almoſt univerſally *biliteral*, ſo that *five and twenty hundred* ſuch roots might be formed by the compoſition of the *fifty Indian* letters; but the *Arabick* roots are as univerſally *triliteral*, ſo that the compoſition of the *twenty-eight Arabian* letters would

give near *two and twenty thouſand elements* of the language: and this will demonſtrate the ſurpriſing extent of it; for, although great numbers of its roots are confeſſedly loſt, and ſome, perhaps, were never in uſe, yet, if we ſuppoſe ten thouſand of them (without rekoning *quadriliterals)* to exiſt, and each of them to admit only *five* variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick* dictionary ought to contain *fifty thouſand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanſcrit* are conſiderably more numerous: but a farther compariſon between the two languages is here unneceſſary; ſince, in whatever light we view them, they ſeem totally diſtinct, and muſt have been invented by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a ſingle word in common between them, except *Suruj*, the plural of *Siràj*, meaning both a *lamp* and the *ſun*, the *Sanſcrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Sùrja*; and even this reſemblance may be purely accidental. We may eaſily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even* INDRA *himſelf and his heavenly bands, much leſs any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind ſuch an ocean of words as their ſacred language contains*, and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninſpired was ever a complete maſter of *Arabick:* in fact no

perſon, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Aſia*, can read without ſtudy an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kámùs* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabia*, the meaning of three words which he had long ſought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the higheſt reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of theſe two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and inſtruct us in an infinite degree: I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopick* dialect ſeems to prove an early eſtabliſhment of the *Arabs* in part of *Ethiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country by the *Abyſſinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries againſt the tyrant of *Yemen* about a century before the birth of MUHAMMED.

Of the characters, in which the old compoſitions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Koràn* originally appeared in thoſe of *Cúfah*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unqueſtionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but, as to the *Himyarick* letters, or thoſe which

we ſee mentioned by the name of *Almuſnad*, we are ſtill in total darkneſs; the traveller NIEBUHR having been unfortunately prevented from viſiting ſome ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are ſaid to have inſcriptions on them: if thoſe letters bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the *Nágarì*, and if a ſtory current in *India* be true, that ſome *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanſcrit* language ſpoken in *Arabia* the *Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourſe formerly ſubſiſted between the two nations of oppoſite coaſts, but ſhould have no reaſon to believe, that they ſprang from the ſame immediate ſtock. The firſt ſyllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologiſt to derive the *Arabs* of *Yemen* from the great anceſtor of the *Indians*; but we muſt obſerve, that *Himyar* is the proper appellation of thoſe *Arabs*; and many reaſons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the ſimilarity of ſome proper names on the borders of *India* to thoſe of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furniſh me with obſervations of ſome importance, but not at all inconſiſtent with my preſent ideas.

II. It is generally aſſerted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can

offer ſo little accurate information concerning the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dare not yet ſpeak on the ſubject with confidence. This at leaſt is certain, that the people of *Yemen* very ſoon fell into the common, but fatal, errour of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the *third* in deſcent from YOKTAN, who was conſequently as old as NAHOR, took the ſurname of ABDUSHAMS, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are aſſured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worſhipped the planets and fixed ſtars; but the religion of the poets at leaſt ſeems to have been pure Theiſm; and this we know with certainty, becauſe we have *Arabian* verſes of unſuſpected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated ſentiments on the goodneſs and juſtice, the power and omnipreſence, of ALLAH, or THE GOD. If an inſcription, ſaid to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preſerved the religion of EBER, and profeſſed a belief *in miracles and a future ſtate*.

We are alſo told, that a ſtrong reſemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but, though this may be true, yet an agreement in worſhipping the ſun and ſtars will not prove an affinity between the two nations: the *powers* of God repreſented as

female deities, the adoration of *ſtones*, and the name of the Idol WUDD, may lead us indeed to ſuſpect, that ſome of the *Hindu* ſuperſtitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and though we have no traces in *Arabian* Hiſtory of ſuch a conqueror or legiſlator as the great SESAC, who is ſaid to have raiſed pillars in *Yemen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet, ſince we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I ſuppoſe to be WODEN, ſince BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and ſince the age of SESAC perfectly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plauſible conjecture, that they were in fact the ſame perſon, who travelled eaſtward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warriour or as a lawgiver, about a thouſand years before CHRIST, and whoſe rites we now ſee extended as far as the country of *Niſon*, or, as the *Chineſe* call it, *Japuen*, both words ſignifying the *Riſing Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; ſo that this epithet will not determine, whether he was a hero or a philoſopher; but the title BUDDHA, or *wiſe*, may induce us to believe, that he was rather a benefactor, than a deſtroyer, of his ſpecies: if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not have been general in that country; and we may ſafely pronounce, that before the *Mohammedan*

revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were Theiſts, but that a ſtupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

I find no trace among them, till their emigration, of any Philoſophy but *Ethicks*; and even their ſyſtem of morals, generous and enlarged as it ſeems to have been in the minds of a few illuſtrious chieftains, was on the whole miſerably depraved for a century at leaſt before MUHAMMED: the diſtinguiſhing virtues, which they boaſted of inculcating and practiſing, were a contempt of riches and even of death; but, in the age of the *Seven Poets*, their liberality had deviated into mad profuſion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obſtinate ſpirit of encountering fruitleſs dangers; but I forbear to expatiate on the manners of the *Arabs* in that age, becauſe the poems, entitled *Almoâllakât*, which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact picture of their virtues and their vices, their wiſdom and their folly; and ſhow what may be conſtantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling paſſions, with no law to control, and little religion to reſtrain, them.

III. Few monuments of antiquity are preſerved in *Arabia*, and of thoſe few the beſt accounts are very uncertain; but we are aſſured, that inſcriptions on rocks and mountains are ſtill ſeen in various parts of the Peninſula;

which, if they are in any known language, and if correct copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by eaſy and infallible rules.

The firſt ALBERT SCHULTENS has preſerved in his Ancient Memorials of *Arabia*, the moſt pleaſing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack ſtrain, which are ſaid to have been found, about the middle of the ſeventh century, on ſome fragments of ruined edifices in *Hadramùt* near *Aden*, and are ſuppoſed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be aſked: In what characters were they written? Who decyphered them? Why were not the original letters preſerved in the book, where the verſes are cited? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrahman*, then governor of *Yemen*, moſt probably ſent to the *Khalifah* at *Bagdad*? If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Yemen* to have been 'herdſmen and warriours, 'inhabiting a fertile and well-watered country 'full of game, and near a fine ſea abounding 'with fiſh, under a monarchical government, 'and dreſſed in green ſilk or veſts of needlework,' either of their own manufacture or imported from *India*. The meaſure of theſe verſes is perfectly regular, and the dialect undiſtinguiſhable, at leaſt by me, from that of *Kuraiſh*; ſo that, if the *Arabian* writers were much addicted to literary impoſtures, I ſhould ſtrongly ſuſpect

them to be modern compoſitions on the inſtability of human greatneſs, and the conſequences of irreligion, illuſtrated by the example of the *Himyarick* princes; and the ſame may be ſuſpected of the firſt poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he aſcribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

The ſuppoſed houſes of the people called *Thamùd* are alſo ſtill to be ſeen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI the Grammarian, a caſtle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALADBAT, an old bard and warriour, who firſt, we are told, formed his army, thence called *álkhamìs*, in *five* parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition againſt *Sanâà*.

Of pillars erected by SESAC, after his invaſion of *Yemen*, we find no mention in *Arabian* hiſtories; and, perhaps, the ſtory has no more foundation than another told by the *Greeks* and adopted by NEWTON, that the *Arabs* worſhipped URANIA, and even BACCHUS by name, which, they ſay, means *great* in *Arabick*: but where they found ſuch a word, we cannot diſcover: it is true, that *Beccah* ſignifies *a great and tumultuous crowd*, and, in this ſenſe, is one name of the ſacred city commonly called *Meccah*.

The *Cábah*, or *quadrangular* edifice at *Meccah*, is indiſputably ſo ancient, that its original

uſe, and the name of its builder, are loſt in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raiſed by ABRAHAM, who, as I aſſured him, was never there: others aſcribe it, with more probability, to ISMAIL, or one of his immediate deſcendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worſhip, as a fortreſs, as a ſepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old poſſeſſors of *Arabia* and the ſons of KIDAR, antiquaries may diſpute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by RELAND to have been *the manſion of ſome ancient Patriarch, and revered on that account by his poſterity*; but the room, in which we now are aſſembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and, if it were large enough for the dwelling-houſe of a patriarchal family, it would ſeem ill adapted to the paſtoral manners of the *Kedarites:* a *Perſian* author inſiſts, that the true name of *Meccah* is *Mahcadah*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may ſmile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable, that the *Cábah* was originally deſigned for religious purpoſes. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* Hiſtory of this Building, which, from their extreme ſimplicity, have leſs appearance of impoſture than other verſes of the ſame kind: they are aſcribed to ASAD, a *Tobbâ*, or king *by ſucceſſion*, who is generally allowed to have reign-

ed in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST's birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with ſtriped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate.* This temple, however, the ſanctity of which was reſtored by MUHAMMED, had been ſtrangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was uſual to decorate its walls with poems on all ſubjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praiſes of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for ſale into the deſerts.

From the want of materials on the ſubject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Iſmailites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impoſtor was deſcended in the *twenty-firſt* degree; and, although we have genealogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at leaſt, yet we can hardly depend on them ſo far, as to eſtabliſh a complete chronological ſyſtem: by reaſoning downwards, however, we may aſcertain ſome points of conſiderable importance. The univerſal tradition of *Yemen* is, that YOKTAN, the ſon of EBER, firſt ſettled his family in that country; which ſettlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*,

muſt have been above *three thouſand ſix hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time, when the *Hindus*, under the conduct of RAMA, were ſubduing the firſt inhabitants of theſe regions, and extending the *Indian* Empire from *Ayódhyà* or *Audh* as far as the iſle of *Sinhal* or *Silàn*. According to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Yemen* in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was contemporary with JOSEPH; and, if a verſe compoſed by that prince, and quoted by ABULFEDA, was really preſerved, as it might eaſily have been, by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal verſion of the couplet: 'When 'thou, who art in power, conducteſt affairs with 'courteſy, thou attaineſt the high honours of 'thoſe, who are moſt exalted, *and* whoſe man-'dates are obeyed.' We are told, that, from an elegant verb in this diſtich, the royal poet acquired the ſurname of *Almuádáfer*, or the *Courteous*. Now the reaſons for believing this verſe genuine are its brevity, which made it eaſy to be remembered, and the good ſenſe comprized in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three words from the idiom of *Hejàz*: the reaſons for doubting are, that ſentences and verſes of indefinite antiquity are ſometimes aſcribed by the *Arabs* to particular

perſons of eminence; and they even go ſo far as to cite a pathetick elegy of ADAM himſelf on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arabick* and correct meaſure. Such are the doubts, which neceſſarily muſt ariſe on ſuch a ſubject; yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analyſis requires, namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejàz* and *Yemen*, ſprang from a ſtock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their firſt eſtabliſhments in the reſpective countries, where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I cannot finiſh this article without obſerving, that, when the King of *Denmark's* miniſters inſtructed the *Daniſh* travellers to collect *hiſtorical* books in *Arabick*, but not to buſy themſelves with procuring *Arabian* poems, they certainly were ignorant, that the only monuments of old *Arabian* Hiſtory are collections of poetical pieces and the commentaries on them; that all memorable tranſactions in *Arabia* were recorded in verſe; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the *Hamáſah*, *the Diwàn* of *Hudhail*, and the valuable work of *Obaidullah*, than by turning over a hundred volumes in proſe, unleſs indeed thoſe poems are cited by the hiſtorians as their authories.

IV. The manners of the *Hejázì Arabs*, which

have continued, we know, from the time of SOLOMON to the preſent age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and, as to *ſciences*, we have no reaſon to believe, that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amuſement of giving names to ſtars, which were uſeful to them in their paſtoral or predatory rambles through the deſerts, and in their obſervations on the weather, can hardly be conſidered as a material part of aſtronomy. The only arts, in which they pretended to excellence (I except horſemanſhip and military accompliſhments) were *poetry* and *rhetorick:* that we have none of their compoſitions in proſe before the *Koràn*, may be aſcribed, perhaps, to the little ſkill, which they ſeem to have had, in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical meaſure, and to the facility, with which verſes are committed to memory; but all their ſtories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and poſſeſſed wonderful powers of ſpeaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to diſcover, what was meaned by their books, called *Rawáśim*, but ſuppoſe, that they were collections of their common, or cuſtomary, law. Writing was ſo little practiſed among them, that their old poems, which are now acceſſible to us, may almoſt be conſidered

as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that SAMUEL JOHNSON's reaſoning, on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; ſince a language, that is only ſpoken, may nevertheleſs be highly poliſhed by a people, who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint ſolemn aſſemblies for the purpoſe of diſplaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exerciſe their children in getting by heart their moſt approved compoſitions.

The people of *Yemen* had poſſibly more *mechanical arts*, and, perhaps, more *ſcience*; but, although their ports muſt have been the emporia of conſiderable commerce between *Egypt* and *India* or part of *Perſia*, yet we have no certain proofs of their proficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the deſert had muſical inſtruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody, we know from themſelves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very ſimple, and their muſick, I ſuſpect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiack verſes and love-ſongs. The ſingular property of their language, in ſhunning compound words, may be urged, according to BACON's idea, as a proof, that they had made

no progreſs in *arts*, 'which require, ſays he, a 'variety of combinations to expreſs the com-'plex notions ariſing from them;' but the ſingularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the genius of the language, and the taſte of thoſe, who ſpoke it; ſince the old *Germans*, who knew no art, appear to have delighted in compound words, which poetry and oratory, one would conceive, might require as much as any meaner art whatſoever.

So great, on the whole, was the ſtrength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever diſtinguiſhed, that we cannot be ſurprized, when we ſee that blaze of genius, which they diſplayed, as far as their arms extended, when they burſt, like their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient limits, and ſpread, like an inundation, over the great empire of *Irân*. That a race of *Tázis*, or *Courſers* as the *Perſians* call them, 'who drank 'the milk of camels and fed on lizards, ſhould 'entertain a thought of ſubduing the kingdom 'of FERIDUN' was conſidered by the General of YEZDEGIRD'S army as the ſtrongeſt inſtance of fortune's levity and mutability; but FIRDAUSI, a complete maſter of *Aſiatick* manners, and ſingularly impartial, repreſents the *Arabs*, even in the age of FERIDUN, as 'diſclaiming

'any kind of dependence on that monarch, exult-
'ing in their liberty, delighting in eloquence,
'acts of liberality, and martial achievements,
'and thus making the whole earth, ſays the poet,
'red as wine with the blood of their foes, and
'the air like a foreſt of canes with their tall
'ſpears.' With ſuch a character they were likely to conquer any country, that they could invade; and, if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would unqueſtionably have made an obſtinate, and probably a ſucceſsful, reſiſtance.

But I have detained you too long, gentlemen, with a nation, who have ever been my favourites, and hope at our next anniverſary meeting to travel with you over a part of *Aſia*, which exhibits a race of men diſtinct both from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it ſhall be my care to ſuperintend the publication of your tranſactions, in which, if the learned in *Europe* have not raiſed their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be diſappointed: my own imperfect eſſays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your ſociety for the greateſt part of laſt year, and I have ſet an example of that freedom from reſtraint, without which no ſociety can flouriſh, yet, as my few hours of leiſure

will now be devoted to *Sanſcrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* Law, to make ſome diſcovery in other ſciences, which I ſhall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.

THE FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 21 FEBRUARY, 1788.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

AT the cloſe of my laſt addreſs to you, Gentlemen, I declared my deſign of introducing to your notice a people of *Aſia*, who ſeemed as different in moſt reſpects from the *Hindus* and *Arabs*, as thoſe two nations had been ſhown to differ from each other; I meaned the people, whom we call *Tartars:* but I enter with extreme diffidence on my preſent ſubject, becauſe I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the groſs errours of *European* writers on *Aſiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no ſatisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whoſe language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and ſcrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interſperſing ſuch remarks as I could not but make on that

evidence, and ſubmitting the whole to your impartial deciſion.

Conformably to the method before adopted in deſcribing *Arabia* and *India*, I conſider *Tartary* alſo, for the purpoſe of this diſcourſe, on its moſt extenſive ſcale, and requeſt your attention, whilſt I trace the largeſt boundaries that are aſſignable to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eaſtward acroſs the *Euxine*, ſo as to include the peninſula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucaſus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caſpian* lake, from the oppoſite ſhore of which follow the courſe of the *Jaihun* and the chain of *Caucaſean* hills as far as thoſe of *Imaus*: whence continue the line beyond the *Chineſe* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yetſo*; ſkirting the borders of *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Ruſſia*, with all the diſtricts which lie between the Glacial ſea, and that of *Japan*. M. De Guignes, whoſe great work on the *Huns* abounds more in ſolid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, preſents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; deſcribing it as a ſtupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chineſe* give the epithet of *Celeſtial*, with a conſiderable number

of broad rivers flowing down its ſides: if the manſion be ſo amazingly ſublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diverſified; for ſome parts of it are incruſted with ice, others parched with inflamed air and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immenſe tracts of ſandy deſerts and foreſts almoſt impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with muſk, watered by numberleſs rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and, from eaſt to weſt, lie many conſiderable provinces, which appear as valleys in compariſon of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat ſummits of the higheſt mountains in the world, or at leaſt the higheſt in *Aſia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the ſame charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that of *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *France*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at leaſt in the preſent ſtate of the earth's temperature: to the ſouth, on the frontiers of *Irân* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd* with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhárà*; on thoſe of *Tibet* are the territories of *Caſhghar*, *Khoten*, *Chegil* and *Khátà*, all famed for perfumes and for the beauty of their inhabitants; and on thoſe of *China* lies the coun-

evidence, and ſubmitting the whole to your impartial deciſion.

Conformably to the method before adopted in deſcribing *Arabia* and *India*, I conſider *Tartary* alſo, for the purpoſe of this diſcourſe, on its moſt extenſive ſcale, and requeſt your attention, whilſt I trace the largeſt boundaries that are aſſignable to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eaſtward acroſs the *Euxine*, ſo as to include the peninſula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucaſus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caſpian* lake, from the oppoſite ſhore of which follow the courſe of the *Jaihun* and the chain of *Caucaſean* hills as far as thoſe of *Imaus*: whence continue the line beyond the *Chineſe* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yetſo*; ſkirting the borders of *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Ruſſia*, with all the diſtricts which lie between the Glacial ſea, and that of *Japan*. M. De Guignes, whoſe great work on the *Huns* abounds more in ſolid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, preſents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; deſcribing it as a ſtupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chineſe* give the epithet of *Celeſtial*, with a conſiderable number

of broad rivers flowing down its ſides: if the manſion be ſo amazingly ſublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diverſified; for ſome parts of it are incruſted with ice, others parched with inflamed air and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immenſe tracts of ſandy deſerts and foreſts almoſt impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with muſk, watered by numberleſs rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and, from eaſt to weſt, lie many conſiderable provinces, which appear as valleys in compariſon of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat ſummits of the higheſt mountains in the world, or at leaſt the higheſt in *Aſia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the ſame charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that of *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *France*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at leaſt in the preſent ſtate of the earth's temperature: to the ſouth, on the frontiers of *Irân* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd* with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhárà*; on thoſe of *Tibet* are the territories of *Caſhghar*, *Khoten*, *Chegil* and *Khátà*, all famed for perfumes and for the beauty of their inhabitants; and on thoſe of *China* lies the coun-

try of *Chín*, anciently a powerful kingdom, which name, like that of *Khátà*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chineſe* empire, where ſuch an appellation would be thought an inſult. We muſt not omit the fine territory of *Tancùt*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Serica*, and conſidered by them as the fartheſt eaſtern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia ſeems to be the general name, which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and deſcribed; but, whether that word be derived, as PLINY ſeems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a ſimilar name to the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, or, as BRYANT imagines, from *Cuthia*, or, as Colonel VALLANCEY believes, from words denoting *navigation*, or, as it might have been ſuppoſed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and ferocity, this at leaſt is certain, that as *India*, *China*, *Perſia*, *Japan*, are not appellations of thoſe countries in the languages of the nations, who inhabit them, ſo neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names, by which the inhabitants of the country now under our conſideration have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves. *Tátáriſtàn* is, indeed, a word uſed by the *Perſians* for the ſouth-weſtern part of *Scythia*, where the muſk-deer is ſaid to be common; and the name *Tátàr* is by ſome conſidered as that of a parti-

cular tribe; by others, as that of a ſmall river only; while *Túrân*, as oppoſed to *Irân*, ſeems to mean the ancient dominion of AFRA'SIA'B to the north and eaſt of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more idle than a debate concerning names, which after all are of little conſequence, when our ideas are diſtinct without them: having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country, which I propoſed to examine, I ſhall not ſcruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary*; though I am conſcious of uſing a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

Tartary then, which contained, according to PLINY, *an innumerable multitude of nations*, by whom the reſt of *Aſia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have preſented themſelves to various fancies, the *great hive of the northern ſwarms*, the *nurſery of irreſiſtible legions*, and, by a ſtronger metaphor, the *foundery of the human race*; but M. BAILLY, a wonderfully ingenious man and a very lively writer, ſeems firſt to have conſidered it as the *cradle of our ſpecies*, and to have ſupported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by ſciences brought from the moſt northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly from the banks of the *Jeniſea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions: all

the fables of old *Greece*, *Italy*, *Perſia*, *India*, he derives from the north; and it muſt be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteneſs and learning. Great learning and great acuteneſs, together with the charms of a moſt engaging ſtyle, were indeed neceſſary to render even tolerable a ſyſtem, which places an earthly paradiſe, the gardens of *Heſperus*, the iſlands of the *Macares*, the groves of *Elyſium*, if not of *Eden*, the heaven of INDRA, the *Periſtàn*, or fairy-land, of the *Perſian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Shádcàm*, ſo named from *Pleaſure* and *Love*, not in any climate, which the common ſenſe of mankind conſiders as the ſeat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby*, in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worſt of criminals in a ſtate of puniſhment after death, and of which *he could not*, he ſays, *even think without ſhivering*. A very curious paſſage in a tract of PLUTARCH on *the figure in the Moon's orb*, naturally induced M. BAILLY to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that iſland, as others have concluded rather fallaciouſly, to be the *Atlantis* of PLATO, but is at a loſs to determine, whether it was *Iſeland* or *Grœnland*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla:* among ſo many charms it was difficult, indeed, to give a pre-

ference; but our philoſopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the ſhepherd of *Ida*, ſeems on the whole to think *Zembla* the moſt worthy of the *golden fruit*; becauſe it is indiſputably an iſland, and lies oppoſite to a gulph near a continent, from which a great number of rivers deſcend into the ocean. He appears equally diſtreſſed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that, which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his concluſion in both caſes muſt remind us of the ſhowman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being aſked by the ſchoolboys, who looked through the glaſs, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, anſwered eagerly, 'which you pleaſe, young 'gentlemen, which you pleaſe.' His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new ſyſtem to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general propoſition, that arts and ſciences had their ſource in *Tartary*, deſerves a longer examination than can be given to it in this diſcourſe: I ſhall, nevertheleſs, with your permiſſion, ſhortly diſcuſs the queſtion under the ſeveral heads, that will preſent themſelves in order.

Although we may naturally ſuppoſe, that the

numberleſs communities of *Tartars*, ſome of whom are eſtabliſhed in great cities, and ſome encamped on plains in ambulatory manſions, which they remove from paſture to paſture, muſt be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet, among thoſe who have not emigrated into another country and mixed with another nation, we may diſcern a family likeneſs, eſpecially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments, which we generally call a *Tartar* face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vaſt region before deſcribed have ſimilar features, we may conclude from thoſe, whom we have ſeen, and from the original portraits of TAIMU'R and his deſcendants, that the *Tartars* in general differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*; an obſervation, which tends in ſome degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themſelves of their deſcent from a common anceſtor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or hiſtorical monuments; for all their writings extant, even thoſe in the *Mogul* dialect, are long ſubſequent to the time of MUHAMMED; nor is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh their genuine traditions from thoſe of the *Arabs*, whoſe religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the

fourteenth century, *Khwájah* RASHI'D, ſurnamed FAD'LU'LLAH, a native of *Kazvìn*; compiled his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from the papers of one PU'LA'D, whom the great grandſon of HOLACU' had ſent into *Tátáriſtàn* for the ſole purpoſe of collecting hiſtorical information; and the commiſſion itſelf ſhows, how little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of RASHI'D, and from other materials, ABU'LGHA'ZI', King of *Khwárezm*, compoſed in the *Mogul* language his *Genealogical Hiſtory*, which, having been purchaſed from a merchant of *Bokhárà* by ſome *Swediſh* officers, priſoners of war in *Siberia*, has found its way into ſeveral *European* tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all MUHAMMEDAN hiſtories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual ſovereigns; and, if Baron DE TOTT had not ſtrangely neglected to procure a copy of the *Tartarian* hiſtory, for the original of which he unneceſſarily offered a large ſum, we ſhould probably have found, that it begins with an account of the deluge taken from the *Korán*, and proceeds to rank TURC, CHI'N, TATA'R, and MONGAL, among the ſons of YA'FET. The genuine traditional hiſtory of the *Tartars*, in all the books that I have inſpected, ſeems to begin with OGHU'Z, as that of the *Hindus* does with RA'MA: they place their miraculous Hero and

Patriarch *four thouſand* years before CHENGIZ KHA'N, who was born in the year 1164, and with whoſe reign their hiſtorical period commences. It is rather ſurprizing, that M. BAILLY, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not derived OGYGES from OGHU'Z and ATLAS from *Altai*, or the *Golden* mountain of *Tartary*: the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere tranſpoſition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologiſt.

My remarks in this addreſs, gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ; and, although the learned labours of M. DE GUIGNES and the fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable uſe of their *Chineſe* literature, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old hiſtorians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hoſtile, to them, and for both thoſe reaſons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting their tranſactions: if they ſpeak truth, the ancient hiſtory of the *Tartars* preſents us, like moſt other hiſtories, with a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, plots, treaſons, maſſacres, and all the natural fruits of ſelfiſh ambition. I ſhould have no inclination to give you a ſketch of ſuch horrors, even if the occaſion called for it; and will

barely obſerve, that the firſt king of the *Hyumnu's* or *Huns* began his reign, according to VISDELOU, about *three thouſand five hundred and ſixty years ago*, not long after the time fixed in my former diſcourſes for the firſt regular eſtabliſhments of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* in their ſeveral countries.

I. Our firſt inquiry, concerning the *languages* and *letters* of the *Tartars*, preſents us with a deplorable void, or with a proſpect as barren and dreary as that of their deſerts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature: (in this point all authorities appear to concur) the *Turcs* had no letters: the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them: the magnificent CHENGIZ, whoſe Empire included an area of near eighty ſquare degrees, could find none of his own *Mongals*, as the beſt authors inform us, able to write his diſpatches; and TAI'MU'R, a ſavage of ſtrong natural parts and paſſionately fond of hearing hiſtories read to him, could himſelf neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHAH mentions a ſet of characters called *Dilberjin*, which were uſed in *Khátà*: 'he had 'ſeen them, he ſays, and found them to conſiſt 'of *forty-one* letters, a diſtinct ſymbol being ap-'propriated to each long and ſhort vowel, and 'to each conſonant hard or ſoft, or otherwiſe 'varied in pronunciation;' but *Khátà* was in ſouthern *Tartary* on the confines of *India*; and,

from his deſcription of the characters there in uſe, we cannot but ſuſpect them to have been thoſe of *Tibet*, which are manifeſtly *Indian*, bearing a greater reſemblance to thoſe of *Bengal* than to *Dévanágarì*. The learned and eloquent *Arab* adds, 'that the *Tatàrs* of *Khátà* 'write, in the *Dilberjín* letters, all their tales and 'hiſtories, their journals, poems, and miſcel-'lanies, their diplomas, records of ſtate and juſ-'tice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick re-'giſters and their compoſitions of every ſpecies:' if this be true, the people of *Khátà* muſt have been a poliſhed and even a lettered nation; and it may be true, without affecting the *general* poſition, that the *Tartars* were illiterate; but IBNU ARABSHA'H was a profeſſed rhetorician, and it is impoſſible to read the original paſſage, without full conviction that his object in writing it, was to diſplay his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He ſays further, that in *Jaghatáï* the people of *Oighùr*, as he calls them, 'have a ſyſtem of *fourteen* letters 'only, denominated from themſelves *Oighùrì*;' and thoſe are the characters, which the *Mongals* are ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have borrowed: ABU'L'GHAZI' tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eighùr* as excellent penmen; but the *Chineſe* aſſert, that he was forced to employ them, becauſe he had no writers at all

among his natural-born ſubjects; and we are aſſured by many, that KUBLAIKHA'N ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of chief *Lama*. The ſmall number of *Eighúri* letters might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pahlavi*, which muſt have been current in that country, when it was governed by the ſons of FERIDU'N; and, if the alphabet aſcribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYES be correct, we may ſafely decide, that in many of its letters it reſembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack*, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can ſcarce hope to ſee a genuine ſpecimen of them, our doubt muſt remain in regard to their form and origin: the page, exhibited by HYDE as *Khatáyan* writing, is evidently a ſort of broken *Cúfick*; and the fine manuſcript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendean* work on ſome religious ſubject than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worſe miſtake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japaneſe*, or mutilated *Chineſe*, letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reaſon to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their *lan-*

guages, like thoſe of *America*, ſhould have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as HYDE had been credibly informed, ſhould be ſpoken between *Moſcow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes or their ſeveral branches, which are enumerated by ABU'LGHA'ZI'. What thoſe dialects are, and whether they really ſprang from a common ſtock, we ſhall probably learn from Mr. PALLAS, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Ruſſian* court; and it is from the *Ruſſians*, that we muſt expect the moſt accurate information concerning their *Aſiatick* ſubjects: I perſuade myſelf, that, if their inquiries be judiciouſly made and faithfully reported, the reſult of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* aroſe from one common ſource; excepting always the jargons of ſuch wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, muſt in a courſe of ages have framed ſeparate idioms for themſelves. The only *Tartarian* language, of which I have any knowledge, is the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, which is however ſo copious, that whoever ſhall know it perfectly, will eaſily underſtand, as we are aſſured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tátáriſtàn*; and we may collect from ABU'LGHA'ZI', that he would find little difficulty in the *Calmac* and the *Mogul*: I will not offend your ears by a dry ca-

talogue of ſimilar words in thoſe different languages; but a careful inveſtigation has convinced me, that, as the *Indian* and *Arabian* tongues are ſeverally deſcended from a common parent, ſo thoſe of *Tartary* might be traced to one ancient ſtem eſſentially differing from the two others. It appears, indeed, from a ſtory told by ABU'L-GHA'ZI', that the *Viràts* and the *Mongals* could not underſtand each other; but no more can the *Danes* and the *Engliſh*, yet their dialects beyond a doubt are branches of the ſame *Gothick* tree. The dialect of the *Moguls*, in which ſome hiſtories of TAIMU'R and his deſcendants were originally compoſed, is called in *India*, where a learned native ſet me right when I uſed another word, *Turcì*; not that it is preciſely the ſame with the *Turkiſh* of the *Othmánlu's*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, leſs then *Swediſh* and *German*, or *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe*, and certainly leſs than *Welch* and *Iriſh*: in hope of aſcertaining this point, I have long ſearched in vain for the original works aſcribed to TAIMU'R and BA'BER; but all the *Moguls*, with whom I have converſed in this country, reſemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheaſant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulneſs of that elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his

own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Perſia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their anceſtors. A very conſiderable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Aſia* would probably have been loſt, is happily preſerved in *Europe*; and, if the groundwork of the weſtern *Turkiſh*, when ſeparated from the *Perſian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embelliſhed, be a branch of the loſt *Oghúzian* tongue, I can aſſert with confidence, that it has not the leaſt reſemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanſcrit*, and muſt have been invented by a race of men wholly diſtinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone overſets the ſyſtem of M. BAILLY, who conſiders the *Sanſcrit*, of which he gives in ſeveral places a moſt erroneous account, as '*a fine* '*monument of his primeval* Scythians, *the precep-* '*tors of mankind and planters of a ſublime phi-* '*loſophy even in* India;' for he holds it an inconteſtable truth, that *a language, which is dead, ſuppoſes a nation, which is deſtroyed*; and he ſeems to think ſuch reaſoning perfectly deciſive of the queſtion, without having recourſe to aſtronomical arguments or the ſpirit of ancient inſtitutions: for my part, I deſire no better proof than that, which the language of the *Bráhmans* affords, of an immemorial and total difference between the *Savages of the Mountains*, as the old

Chineſe juſtly called the *Tartars*, and the ſtudious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of theſe *Indian* plains.

II. The *geographical* reaſoning of M. BAILLY may, perhaps, be thought equally ſhallow, if not inconſiſtent in ſome degree with itſelf. 'An 'adoration of the ſun and of fire, ſays he, muſt 'neceſſarily have ariſen in a cold region: there-'fore, it muſt have been foreign to *India*, *Per-'ſia*, *Arabia*; therefore, it muſt have been de-'rived from *Tartary*.' No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Babàr*, or has even paſſed a cold ſeaſon at *Calcutta* within the tropick, can doubt that the ſolar warmth is often deſirable by all, and might have been conſidered as adorable by the ignorant, in theſe climates, or that the return of ſpring deſerves all the ſalutations, which it receives from the *Perſian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain hiſtorical evidence, that ANTARAH, a celebrated warriour and bard, actually periſhed with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary ſettlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypotheſis of M. BUFFON, who imagines, that our whole globe was at firſt of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; ſo that the *Hy-*

perborean countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itſelf was even *hotter than the climate of our temperate zones*, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his firſt propoſition, for the primary worſhip of the ſun. That the temperature of countries has not ſuſtained a change in the lapſe of ages, I will by no means inſiſt; but we can hardly reaſon concluſively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffuſion of ſcience: if as many female elephants and tigreſſes, as we now find in *Bengal*, had formerly littered in the *Siberian* foreſts, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had ſought a genial warmth in the climates of the ſouth, it would not follow, that other ſavages, who migrated in the ſame direction and on the ſame account, brought religion and philoſophy, language and writing, art and ſcience, into the ſouthern latitudes.

We are told by ABU'LGHA'ZI', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the firſt generations from YA'FET, but was extinct before the birth of OGHU'Z, who reſtored it in his dominions; that, ſome ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Turcs* relapſed into groſs idolatry; but that CHENGIZ was a Theiſt, and, in a converſation with the *Muhammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for

the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanſwerable, while he conteſted the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that the *Maſſagetæ* worſhipped the ſun; and the narrative of an embaſſy from JUSTIN to the *Khákàn*, or Emperor, who then reſided in a fine vale near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman* Ambaſſadors by conducting them between two *fires:* the *Tartars* of that age are repreſented as adorers of the *four elements*, and believers in an inviſible ſpirit, to whom they ſacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the feſtivals of ſome *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of a conſecrated liquor on the ſtatues of their Gods; after which an attendant ſprinkles a little of what remains three times toward the ſouth in honour of fire, toward the weſt and eaſt in honour of water and air, and as often toward the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceaſed anceſtors: now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus*; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature, the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black ſtone, the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the *Arabs* are a diſtinct race

from the *Tartars*; and we might as well infer, that they were the ſame people, becauſe they had each their *Nomades, or wanderers for paſture*, and becauſe the *Turcmans*, deſcribed by IBNU ARABSH'AH and by him called *Tátár's*, are, like *moſt Arabian* tribes, paſtoral and warlike, hoſpitable and generous, wintering and ſummering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horſes and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the ſimilar nature of their ſeveral deſerts and their ſimilar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could ſcarce have had without preſerving ſome remnant at leaſt of a common language.

Many *Lamas*, we are aſſured, or Prieſts of BUDDHA, have been found ſettled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Bauddha's* was imported into ſouthern, or *Chineſe, Tartary*; ſince we know, that rolls of *Tibetian* writing have been brought even from the borders of the *Caſpian*. The complexion of BUDDHA himſelf, which, according to the *Hindus*, was *between white and ruddy*, would perhaps have convinced M. BAILLY, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the laſt great legiſlator and God of the Eaſt was a *Tartar*;

but the *Chineſe* conſider him as a native of *India*, the *Bráhmans* inſiſt, that he was born in a foreſt near *Gayá*, and many reaſons may lead us to ſuſpect, that his religion was carried from the weſt and the ſouth to thoſe eaſtern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and ſuperſtitions, or of that poetical mythology, with which the *Sanſcrit* poems are decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reaſon than any ſouthern people, without admitting them to have been the ſole original inventors of that univerſal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the *four elements*, which forms a principal part of the ritual introduced by ZER'ATUSHT, a native of *Rai* in *Perſia*, born in the reign of GUSHTASP, whoſe ſon PASH'UTEN is believed by the *Párſi's* to have reſided long in *Tartary* at a place called *Cangidiz*, where a magnificent palace is ſaid to have been built by the father of CYRUS, and where the *Perſian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have diffeminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

Of any Philoſophy, except natural Ethicks, which the rudeſt ſociety requires and experience teaches, we find no more veſtiges in *Aſiatick Scythia* than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the

name of a Philoſopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected, if ANACHARSIS had not viſited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that inſtruction, which his birthplace could not have afforded him: but ANACHARSIS was the ſon of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he ſoon learned to deſpiſe his own. He was unqueſtionably a man of a ſound underſtanding and fine parts; and, among the lively ſayings, which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that, when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he anſwered: 'my country 'is, indeed, a diſgrace to me, but thou art a 'diſgrace to thy country.' What his country was, in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by introducing the wiſe laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed on a hunting party with an arrow ſhot by his own brother, a *Scythian* Chieftain. Such was the philoſophy of M. BAILLY's *Atlantes*, the firſt and moſt enlightened of nations! We are aſſured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabiſtàn*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his deſcendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preſerve their lives by a violation of it: DE GUIGNES aſcribes the ſame veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns*;

and STRABO, who might only mean to laſh the *Greeks* by praiſing Barbarians, as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians* merely to ſatirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of *Scythia* deſerved the praiſe due to wiſdom, heroick friendſhip, and juſtice; and this praiſe we may readily allow them on his authority, without ſuppoſing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* DEUCALION, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whoſe ſtory even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament, for many reaſons, that, if ever they exiſted, they have not been preſerved: it is certain, that a ſyſtem of laws, called *Yáſác*, has been celebrated in *Tartary* ſince the time of CHENGIZ, who is ſaid to have republiſhed them in his empire, as his inſtitutions were afterwards adopted and enforced by TAIMU'R; but they ſeem to have been a common, or traditionary, law, and were probably not reduced into writing, till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation, who were able to write.

III. Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers muſt have diſcovered in that country ſome ancient monuments of them, ſuch as pieces of groteſque ſculpture, images of

the Gods and *Avatárs*, and inſcriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to thoſe, which remain in every part of the weſtern peninſula, or to thoſe, which many of us have ſeen in *Bahàr* and at *Banáras*; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the weſt and eaſt of the *Caſpian*, aſcribed indeed by ignorant *Muſelmans* to *Yájúj* and *Májúj*, or *Gog* and *Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifeſtly raiſed by a very different nation in order to ſtop their predatory inroads through the paſſes of *Caucaſus*. The *Chineſe* wall was built or finiſhed, on a ſimilar conſtruction and for a ſimilar purpoſe, by an Emperor, who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era; and the other mounds were very probably conſtructed by the old *Perſians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to SECANDER, not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient Hero ſuppoſed by ſome to have been JEMSHI'D. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tátariſtàn*, or weſtern *Scythia*, and ſome remnants of edifices in the lake *Saiſan*; that veſtiges of a deſerted city have been recently diſcovered by the *Ruſſians* near the *Caſpian* ſea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utenſils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of

various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper inſtead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tſhúdès*; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reaſon, the high antiquity of that people: but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their eſtabliſhment in that country near four thouſand years ago, no man diſputes; we are inquiring into their ancient religion and philoſophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the ſciences of *India*. The golden utenſils might poſſibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themſelves; but it is poſſible too, that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occaſional embaſſies were ſent to the Kings of *Eighùr*. Towards the end of the tenth century the *Chineſe* Emperor diſpatched an ambaſſador to a Prince, named ERSLA'N, which, in the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, ſignifies a *lion*, who reſided near the Golden Mountain in the ſame ſtation, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the ſixth century; the *Chineſe* on his return home reported the *Eighùrs* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers not only in gold, ſilver, and iron, but in jaſper and fine ſtones; and the *Romans* had before deſcribed their magnificent reception in a rich palace

adorned with *Chineſe* manufactures: but theſe times were comparatively modern; and, even if we ſhould admit, that the *Eighùris*, who are ſaid to have been governed for a period of two thouſand years by an *Idecùt*, or ſovereign of their own race, were in ſome very early age a literary and poliſhed nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Turcs*, *Mongals*, and other ſavages to the north of *Pekin*, who ſeem in all ages, before MUHAMMED, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

Without actual inſpection of the manuſcripts, that have been found near the *Caſpian*, it would be impoſſible to give a correct opinion concerning them; but one of them, deſcribed as written on blue ſilky paper in letters of gold and ſilver not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetian* compoſition of the ſame kind with that, which lay near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, and of which CASSIANO I believe, made the firſt accurate verſion: another, if we may judge from the deſcription of it, was probably modern *Turkiſh*; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof, that the *Tartars* were themſelves well-inſtructed, much leſs that they inſtructed the world; nor have we any ſtronger reaſon to conclude from their general man-

ners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in *arts* and *ſciences:* even of poetry, the moſt univerſal and moſt natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine ſpecimens aſcribed to them, except ſome horrible warſongs expreſſed in *Perſian* by ALI' of *Yezd,* and poſſibly invented by him. After the conqueſt of *Perſia* by the *Mongals,* their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made aſtronomical obſervations at *Samarkand;* as the *Turcs* became poliſhed by mixing with the *Perſians* and *Arabs,* though *their very nature,* as one of their own writers confeſſes, *had before been like an incurable diſtemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance:* thus alſo the *Mancheu* monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious, and the Emperor TIEN-LONG is, if he be now living, a fine *Chineſe* poet. In all theſe inſtances the *Tartars* have reſembled the *Romans,* who, before they had ſubdued *Greece,* were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in ſcience and art.

Before I left *Europe,* I had inſiſted in converſation, that the *Tuzuc,* tranſlated by Major DAVY, was never written by TAIMU'R himſelf, at leaſt not as CÆSAR wrote his commentaries, for one very plain reaſon, that no *Tartarian* king of his age could write at all; and, in ſupport of my opinion, I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who,

though juſtly hoſtile to the ſavage, by whom his native city, *Damaſcus*, had been ruined, yet praiſes his talents and the real greatneſs of his mind, but adds: "He was wholly illiterate; he "neither read nor wrote any thing; and he "knew nothing of *Arabick*; though of *Perſian*, "*Turkiſh*, and the *Mogul* dialect, he knew as "much as was ſufficient for his purpoſe, and no "more: he uſed with pleaſure to hear hiſtories "read to him, and ſo frequently heard the ſame "book, that he was able by memory to correct "an inaccurate reader." This paſſage had no effect on the tranſlator, whom *great and learned men in* India *had aſſured*, it ſeems, *that the work was authentick*, by which he meaned *compoſed by the conqueror himſelf:* but the *great* in this country might have been *unlearned*, or the *learned* might not have been *great* enough to anſwer any leading queſtion in a manner that oppoſed the declared inclination of a *Britiſh* inquirer; and, in either caſe, ſince no witneſſes are named, ſo general a reference to them will hardly be thought concluſive evidence. On my part, I will name a *Muſelman*, whom we all know, and who has enough both of *greatneſs* and of *learning* to decide the queſtion both impartially and ſatisfactorily: the *Nawwàb* MOZAFFER JANG informed me of his own accord, that no man of ſenſe in *Hinduſtàn* believed the work to have

been compoſed by TAIMU'R, but that his favourite, ſurnamed HINDU SHA'H, was known to have written that book and others aſcribed to his patron, after many confidential diſcourſes with the *Emir*, and, perhaps, nearly in the Prince's words as well as in his perſon; a ſtory which ALI' of *Yezd*, who attended the court of TAIMU'R, and has given us a flowery panegyrick inſtead of a hiſtory, renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arabian* account, and by total ſilence as to the literary productions of his maſter. It is true, that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom DAVY ſupported, has given me a written memorial on the ſubject, in which he mentions TAIMU'R as the author of two works in *Turkiſh*; but the credit of his information is overſet by a ſtrange apocryphal ſtory of a king of *Yemen*, who invaded, he ſays, the *Emir's* dominions, and in whoſe library the manuſcript was afterwards found, and tranſlated by order of ALI'SHI'R, firſt miniſter of TAIMU'R'S grandſon; and Major DAVY himſelf, before he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *Tuzuc*, which he deſigned to republiſh with conſiderable additions, a particular account, written *unqueſtionably* by TAIMU'R, of *his own death*. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to ſhake my opinion,

that, the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conqueſt of *India* and *Perſia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be poſſible, that, even without art or ſcience, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriours and lawgivers in their own country ſome centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

If learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of *India*, the ſeats of it, I have reaſon to ſuſpect, muſt have been *Eighùr*, *Caſhghar*, *Khatà*, *Chín*, *Tancùt*, and other countries of *Chineſe Tartary*, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I ſhall, in another diſcourſe, produce my reaſons for ſuppoſing, that thoſe very countries were peopled by a race allied to the *Hindus*, or enlightened at leaſt by their vicinity to *India* and *China*; yet in *Tancùt*, which by ſome is annexed to *Tibet*, and even among its old inhabitants, the *Seres*, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful diſcharge of moral duties, for a pacifick diſpoſition, and for that longevity, which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are ſaid to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts and even to commerce; though FADLU'LLAH had been informed, that, near the cloſe of the *thirteenth* century, many

branches of natural philoſophy were cultivated in *Cam-cheu*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

We may readily believe thoſe, who aſſure us, that ſome tribes of wandering *Tartars* had real ſkill in applying herbs and minerals to the purpoſes of medicine, and pretended to ſkill in magick; but the general character of their nation ſeems to have been this: they were profeſſed hunters or fiſhers, dwelling on that account in foreſts or near great rivers, under huts or rude tents, or in waggons drawn by their cattle from ſtation to ſtation; they were dextrous archers, excellent horſemen, bold combatants, appearing often to flee in diſorder for the ſake of renewing their attack with advantage; drinking the milk of mares, and eating the fleſh of colts; and thus in many reſpects reſembling the old *Arabs*, but in nothing more than in their love of intoxicating liquors, and in nothing leſs than in a taſte for poetry and the improvement of their language.

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controverſy, that the far greater part of *Aſia* has been peopled and immemorially poſſeſſed by three conſiderable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and ſubdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them ſo different in form and features,

language, manners and religion, that, if they ſprang originally from a common root, they muſt have been ſeparated for ages: whether more than three primitive ſtocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Perſians*, are entirely diſtinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I ſhall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what concluſions theſe inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly diſcern; but, if they lead to truth, we ſhall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient hiſtory, in which, while we proceed ſtep by ſtep, and follow every glimmering of certain light, that preſents itſelf, we muſt beware of thoſe falſe rays and luminous vapours, which miſlead *Aſiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found on a near approach to be deſerts of ſand.

THE SIXTH
DISCOURSE;
ON THE
PERSIANS,
DELIVERED 19 FEBRUARY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vaſt mountains and barren deſerts of *Túràn*, over which we travelled laſt year with no perfect knowledge of our courſe, and requeſt you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the moſt celebrated and moſt beautiful countries in the world; a country, the hiſtory and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively ſtudied, and on which I may without arrogance promiſe you more poſitive information, than I could poſſibly procure on a nation ſo diſunited and ſo unlettered as the *Tartars*: I mean that, which *Europeans* improperly call *Perſia*, the name of a ſingle province being applied to the whole Empire of *Iràn*, as it is correctly denominated by the preſent natives of it,

and by all the learned *Muſelmans*, who reſide in theſe *Britiſh* territories. To give you an idea of its largeſt boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of deſcribing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us begin with the ſource of the great *Aſſyrian* ſtream, *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their cuſtom, were pleaſed to miſcall the *Forât*) and thence deſcend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or *Perſian* Gulf, including in our line ſome conſiderable diſtricts and towns on both ſides the river; then coaſting *Perſia*, properly ſo named, and other *Iranian* provinces, we come to the delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence aſcending to the mountains of *Caſhghar*, we diſcover its fountains and thoſe of the *Jaihùn*, down which we are conducted to the *Caſpian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it loſe itſelf now in the ſands and lakes of *Khwárezm*: we next are led from the ſea of *Khozar*, by the banks of the *Cur*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucaſean* ridges, to the ſhore of the *Euxine*, and thence, by the ſeveral *Grecian* ſeas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no conſiderable diſtance from the *Mediterranean*. We cannot but include the lower *Aſia* within this outline, becauſe it was unqueſtionably a part of the *Perſian*, if not of the old *Aſſyrian*, Empire; for we know, that it was under the dominion of CAIKHOSRAU; and DIODORUS, we

find, aſſerts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Aſſyria*, ſince PRIAM implored and obtained ſuccours from his Emperor TEUTAMES, whoſe name approaches nearer to TAHMU'RAS, than to that of any other *Aſſyrian* monarch. Thus may we look on *Irân* as the nobleſt *Iſland*, (for ſo the *Greeks* and the *Arabs* would have called it), or at leaſt as the nobleſt *peninſula*, on this habitable globe; and if M. BAILLY had fixed on it as the *Atlantis* of PLATO, he might have ſupported his opinion with far ſtronger arguments than any, that he has adduced in favour of New *Zembla:* if the account, indeed, of the *Atlantes* be not purely an *Egyptian*, or an *Utopian*, fable, I ſhould be more inclined to place them in *Irân* than in any region, with which I am acquainted.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that the ancient hiſtory of ſo diſtinguiſhed an Empire ſhould be yet ſo imperfectly known; but very ſatisfactory reaſons may be aſſigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the ſuperficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loſs of *Perſian* archives or hiſtorical compoſitions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had *no* acquaintance with *Perſia*, and that *all* their accounts of it are *wholly* fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be ſeriouſly maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed,

been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the firſt *Perſian* Emperor, whoſe life and character they ſeem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CA KHOSRAU; for I ſhall then only doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI' was the CYRUS of the firſt *Greek* hiſtorian, and the Hero of the oldeſt political and moral romance, when I doubt that LOUIS *Quatorze* and LEWIS *the Fourteenth* were one and the ſame *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different princes of *Perſia* ſhould each have been born in a foreign and hoſtile territory; ſhould each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather in conſequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; ſhould each have been ſaved by the remorſe of his deſtined murderer, and ſhould each, after a ſimilar education among herdſmen, as the ſon of a herdſman, have found means to reviſit his paternal kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant, who had invaded it, ſhould have reſtored it to the ſummit of power and magnificence. Whether ſo romantick a ſtory, which is the ſubject of an Epick Poem, as majeſtick and entire as the *Iliad*, be hiſtorically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reaſon be denied,

that the outline of it related to a ſingle Hero, whom the *Aſiaticks*, converſing with the father of *European* hiſtory, deſcribed according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not expreſs: nor will a difference of names affect the queſtion; ſince the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they *ſacrificed* willingly *to the Graces* of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never ſolicitous to make them exact; hence they probably formed CAMBYSES from CA'MBAKHSH, or *Granting deſires*, a title rather than a name, and XERXES from SHI'RU'YI, a Prince and warriour in the *Shâhnámah*, or from SHI'RSHA'H, which might alſo have been a title; for the *Aſiatick* Princes have conſtantly aſſumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occaſions; a cuſtom, which we have ſeen prevalent in our own times both in *Irân* and *Hinduſtán*, and which has been a ſource of great confuſion even in the ſcriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences: both *Greeks* and *Jews* have in fact accommodated *Perſian* names to their own articulation; and both ſeem to have diſregarded the native literature of *Irân*, without which they could at moſt attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Perſians* themſelves, who were contemporary

with the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they muſt have been acquainted with the hiſtory of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of paſt ages; but for a reaſon, which will preſently appear, they choſe to conſider CAYU'MERS as the founder of the empire; and, in the numerous diſtractions, which followed the overthrow of DA'RA', eſpecially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil hiſtories were loſt, as thoſe of *India* have unhappily been, from the ſolicitude of the prieſts, the only depoſitaries of their learning, to preſerve their books of law and religion at the expenſe of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Perſian* hiſtory before the dynaſty of SA'SA'N, except a few ruſtick traditions and fables, which furniſhed materials for the *Sháhnámah*, and which are ſtill ſuppoſed to exiſt in the *Pahlaví* language. The annals of the *Píſhdádì*, or *Aſſyrian*, race muſt be conſidered as dark and fabulous; and thoſe of the *Cayáni* family, or the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as heroick and poetical; though the lunar eclipſes, ſaid to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of GUSHTASP, the prince, by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected: of the *Parthian* kings deſcended from ARSHAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sáſáni's* had ſo long an intercourſe with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period

of their dominion may be called an hiſtorical age. In attempting to aſcertain the beginning of the *Aſſyrian* empire, we are deluded, as in a thouſand inſtances, by names arbitrarily impoſed: it had been *ſettled* by chronologers, that the firſt monarchy eſtabliſhed in *Perſia* was the *Aſſyrian*; and NEWTON, finding ſome of opinion, that it roſe in the firſt century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than *ſeven hundred and ninety* years before CHRIST, rejected part of the old ſyſtem and adopted the reſt of it; concluding, that the *Aſſyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after SOLOMON, and that, in all preceding ages, the government of *Irân* had been divided into ſeveral petty ſtates and principalities. Of this opinion I confeſs myſelf to have been; when, diſregarding the wild chronology of the *Muſelmâns* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmoſt natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Piſhdâdi* kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to NEWTON's computation. It ſeemed, indeed, unaccountably ſtrange, that, although ABRAHAM had found a regular monarchy in *Egypt*, although the kingdom of *Yemen* had juſt pretenſions to very high antiquity, although the *Chineſe*, in the twelfth century before our era, had made approaches at leaſt to the preſent form of their extenſive dominion, and although we

can hardly ſuppoſe the firſt *Indian* monarchs to have reigned leſs than three thouſand years ago, yet *Perſia*, the moſt delightful, the moſt compact, the moſt deſirable country of them all, ſhould have remained for ſo many ages unſettled and diſunited. A fortunate diſcovery, for which I was firſt indebted to *Mír* MUHAMMED HUSAIN, one of the moſt intelligent *Muſelmàns* in *India*, has at once diſſipated the cloud, and caſt a gleam of light on the primeval hiſtory of *Irán* and of the human race, of which I had long deſpaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

The rare and intereſting tract *on twelve different religions*, entitled the *Dabiſtán*, and compoſed by a *Mohammedan* traveller, a native of *Caſhmír*, named MOHSAN, but diſtinguiſhed by the aſſumed ſurname of FA'NÍ, or *Periſhable*, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of HU'SHANG, which was long anterior to that of ZERA'TUSHT, but had continued to be ſecretly profeſſed by many learned *Perſians* even to the author's time; and ſeveral of the moſt eminent of them, diſſenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and perſecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*; where they compiled a number of books, now extremely ſcarce, which MOHSAN had peruſed, and with the writers of which, or with many of

them, he had contracted an intimate friendſhip: from them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been eſtabliſhed for ages in *Irân* before the acceſſion of CAYUMERS, that it was called the *Mahábádian* dynaſty, for a reaſon which will ſoon be mentioned, and that many princes, of whom ſeven or eight only are named in the *Dabiſtân*, and among them MAHBUL, or MAHA' BELI, had raiſed their empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Iranian* monarchy muſt have been the oldeſt in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three ſtocks, *Hindu*, *Arabian*, or *Tartar*, the firſt Kings of *Irân* belonged, or whether they ſprang from a *fourth* race diſtinct from any of the others; and theſe are queſtions, which we ſhall be able, I imagine, to anſwer preciſely, when we have carefully inquired into the *languages* and *letters*, *religion* and *philoſophy*, and incidentally into the *arts* and *ſciences*, of the ancient *Perſians*.

I. In the new and important remarks, which I am going to offer, on the ancient *languages* and *characters* of *Irân*, I am ſenſible, that you muſt give me credit for many aſſertions, which on this occaſion it is impoſſible to prove; for I ſhould ill deſerve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuſe it by repeating a dry liſt of detached words,

and preſenting you with a vocabulary inſtead of a diſſertation; but, ſince I have no ſyſtem to maintain, and have not ſuffered imagination to delude my judgement; ſince I have habituated myſelf to form opinions of men and things from *evidence*, which is the only ſolid baſis of *civil*, as *experiment* is of *natural*, knowledge; and ſince I have maturely conſidered the queſtions which I mean to diſcuſs; you will not, I am perſuaded, ſuſpect my teſtimony, or think that I go too far, when I aſſure you, that I will aſſert nothing poſitively, which I am not able ſatisfactorily to demonſtrate. When MUHAMMED was born, and ANU'SHI'RAVA'N, whom he calls *the Juſt King*, ſat on the throne of *Perſia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of *Irân*; that of the *Court*, thence named *Derì*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Pârsì*, ſo called from the province, of which *Shîráz* is now the capital, and that of the learned, in which moſt books were compoſed, and which had the name of *Pahlavì*, either from the *heroes*, who ſpoke it in former times, or from *Pahlu*, a tract of land, which included, we are told, ſome conſiderable cities of *Irák:* the ruder dialects of both were, and, I believe, ſtill are, ſpoken by the ruſticks in ſeveral provinces; and in many of them, as *Herât*, *Zábul*, *Siſtân* and others, diſtinct idioms

were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Beſides the *Pârsì* and *Pahlavì*, a very ancient and abſtruſe tongue was known to the prieſts and philoſophers, called *the language of the Zend*, becauſe a book on religious and moral duties, which they held ſacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Pâzend*, or comment on that work, was compoſed in *Pahlavì*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Perſian* reader about three years, aſſured me, that the *letters* of his prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the *language*, *Aveſtà*; as the words of the *Vèda's* are *Sanſcrit*, and the characters, *Nágarì*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Iſeland* were expreſſed in *Runick* letters: let us however, in compliance with cuſtom, give the name of *Zend* to the ſacred language of *Perſia*, until we can find, as we ſhall very ſoon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pahlavì* are almoſt extinct in *Iràn*; for among ſix or ſeven thouſand *Gabrs*, who reſide chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmàn*, there are very few, who can read *Pahlavì*, and ſcarce any, who even boaſt of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pârsì*, which remains almoſt pure in the *Shâhnámah*, has now become by the intermixture of numberleſs *Arabick* words,

and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquiſitely poliſhed by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the ſubverſion of the Roman empire: but with modern *Perſian* we have no concern in our preſent inquiry, which I confine to the ages, that preceded the *Mohammedan* conqueſt. Having twice read the works of FIRDAUSI' with great attention, ſince I applied myſelf to the ſtudy of old *Indian* literature, I can aſſure you with confidence, that hundreds of *Pársì* nouns are pure *Sanſcrit*, with no other change than ſuch as may be obſerved in the numerous *bhájhà's*, or vernacular dialects, of *India*; that very many *Perſian* imperatives are the roots of *Sanſcrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenſes of the *Perſian* verb ſubſtantive, which is the model of all the reſt, are deducible from the *Sanſcrit* by an eaſy and clear analogy: we may hence conclude, that the *Pársì* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialects, from the language of the *Bráhmans*; and I muſt add, that in the pure *Perſian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourſe between the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, eſpecially in the time of BAHRA'M, who was educated in *Arabia*, and whoſe *Arabick* verſes are ſtill extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many ſuppoſe to be

the firſt attempt at *Perſian* verſification in *Arabian* metre: but, without having recourſe to other arguments, *the compoſition of words*, in which the genius of the *Perſian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a deciſive proof, that the *Pârsì* ſprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian*, ſtock. Conſidering languages as mere inſtruments of knowledge, and having ſtrong reaſons to doubt the exiſtence of genuine books in *Zend* or *Pahlavì* (eſpecially ſince the well-informed author of the *Dabiſtàn* affirms the work of ZERA'TUSHT to have been loſt, and its place ſupplied by a recent compilation) I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of thoſe ancient languages; but I often converſed on them with my friend BAHMAN, and both of us were convinced after full conſideration, that the *Zend* bore a ſtrong reſemblance to *Sanſcrit*, and the *Pahlavì* to *Arabick*. He had at my requeſt tranſlated into *Pahlavì* the fine inſcription, exhibited in the *Guliſtàn*, on the diadem of CYRUS; and I had the patience to read the liſt of words from the *Pázend* in the appendix to the *Farhangi Jehángiri*: this examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pahlavi* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a ſhort proof. By the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue moſt words ended in the firſt

long vowel like *ſhemià*, heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a ſingle letter, we find in the *Pàzend*, together with *lailià*, night, *meyà*, water, *nírà*, fire, *matrà*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrew* with a *Chaldean* termination: ſo *zamar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *compoſe verſes*, and thence, by an eaſy tranſition, to *ſing* them; and in *Pahlavì* we ſee the verb *zamrúniten*, to *ſing*, with its forms *zamrúnemi*, I *ſing*, and *zamrúnid*, he *ſang*; the verbal terminations of the *Perſian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all thoſe words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Perſian*; and this diſtinction convinces me, that the dialect of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of ZERA'TUSHT, and of which BAHMAN gave me a variety of written ſpecimens, is a late invention of their prieſts, or ſubſequent at leaſt to the *Muſelman* invaſion; for, although it may be poſſible, that a few of their ſacred books were preſerved, as he uſed to aſſert, in ſheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near *Yezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a ſpiritual, but a political, intereſt in perſecuting a warlike, robuſt, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered ſubjects, a long time muſt have elapſed, before the hidden ſcriptures could have been ſafely

brought to light, and few, who could perfectly underſtand them, muſt then have remained; but, as they continued to profeſs among themſelves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Múbeds* to ſupply the loſt or mutilated works of their legiſlator by new compoſitions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from ſuch moral and religious knowledge, as they gleaned, moſt probably, among the *Chriſtians*, with whom they had an intercourſe. One rule we may fairly eſtabliſh in deciding the queſtion, whether the books of the modern *Gabrs* were anterior to the invaſion of the *Arabs:* when an *Arabick* noun occurs in them changed only by the ſpirit of the *Chaldean* idiom, as *wertà*, for *werd*, a roſe, *dabà*, for *dhahab*, gold, or *demàn*, for *zemàn*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient *Pahlavì*; but, when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives, evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be ſure, that the phraſes, in which they occur, are comparatively modern; and not a ſingle paſſage, which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion, would abide this teſt.

We come now to the language of the *Zend*; and here I muſt impart a diſcovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the moſt intereſting conſequences. M. ANQUETIL,

who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earlieſt youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not ſullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendáveſtà*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pahlavì*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawáyát*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Perſian*: of his *Pahlavì* no more needs be ſaid, than that it ſtrongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language; but, when I peruſed the *Zend* gloſſary, I was inexpreſſibly ſurprized to find, that ſix or ſeven words in ten were pure *Sanſcrit*, and even ſome of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyácaran*; as *yuſhmácam*, the genitive plural of *yuſhmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL moſt certainly, and the *Perſian* compiler moſt probably, had no knowledge of *Sanſcrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a liſt of *Sanſcrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick liſt of *Zend* words, which had been preſerved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at leaſt a dialect of the *Sanſcrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prácrit*, or other popular idioms, which

we know to have been ſpoken in *India* two thouſand years ago. From all theſe facts it is a neceſſary conſequence, that the oldeſt diſcoverable languages of *Perſia* were *Chaldaick* and *Sanſcrit*; and that, when they had ceaſed to be vernacular, the *Pahlavi* and *Zend* were deduced from them reſpectively, and the *Pársi* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Bráhmans*; but all had perhaps a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the beſt lexicographers aſſert, that numberleſs words in ancient *Perſian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Kipchák*; ſo that the *three* families, whoſe lineage we have examined in former diſcourſes, had left viſible traces of themſelves in *Irán*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had ruſhed from their deſerts, and returned to that very country, from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with poſitive commands from their legiſlators to reviſit it no more. I cloſe this head with obſerving, that no ſuppoſition of a mere political or commercial intercourſe between the different nations will account for the *Sanſcrit* and *Chaldaick* words, which we find in the old *Perſian* tongues; becauſe they are, in the firſt place, too numerous to have been introduced by ſuch means, and, ſecondly, are not the names of exotick animals,

commodities, or arts, but thoſe of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

If a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever poſſeſſed and governed the country of *Iràn*, we ſhould find on the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called *the throne of* JEMSHI'D, ſome inſcriptions in *Dévanágarì*, or at leaſt in the characters on the ſtones at *Elephanta*, where the ſculpture is unqueſtionably *Indian*, or in thoſe on the *Staff of* FI'RU'Z SHA'H, which exiſt in the heart of *India*; and ſuch inſcriptions we probably ſhould have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Bráhmans* from *Iràn*, and the violent ſchiſm in the *Perſian* religion, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak; for, although the popular name of the building at *Iſtakhr*, or *Perſepolis*, be no certain proof that it was raiſed in the time of JEMSHI'D, yet ſuch a fact might eaſily have been preſerved by tradition, and we ſhall ſoon have abundant evidence, that the temple was poſteriour to the reign of the *Hindu* monarchs: the *cypreſſes* indeed, which are repreſented with the figures in proceſſion, might induce a reader of the *Sháh-námah* to believe, that the ſculptures related to the new faith introduced by ZERA'TUSHT; but, as a cypreſs is a beautiful ornament, and as

many of the figures appear inconſiſtent with the reformed adoration of fire, we muſt have recourſe to ſtronger proofs, that the *Takhti* JEMSHI'D was erected after CAYU'MERS. The building has lately been viſited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. FRANCKLIN; from whom we learn, that NIEBUHR has delineated them with great accuracy: but without ſuch teſtimony I ſhould have ſuſpected the correctneſs of the delineation; becauſe the *Daniſh* traveller has exhibited two inſcriptions in modern *Perſian*, and one of them from the ſame place, which cannot have been exactly tranſcribed: they are very elegant verſes of NIZA'MI' and SADI' *on the inſtability of human greatneſs*, but ſo ill engraved or ſo ill copied, that, if I had not had them nearly by heart, I ſhould not have been able to read them; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Iſpahàn*, who tranſlated them with ſhameful inaccuracy, muſt have been deceived by the badneſs of the copy; or he never would have created a new king WAKAM, by forming one word of JEM and the particle prefixed to it. Aſſuming, however, that we may reaſon as concluſively on the characters publiſhed by NIEBUHR, as we might on the monuments themſelves, were they now before us, we may begin with obſerving, as CHARDIN had obſerved on the very ſpot, that they bear no reſemblance

whatever to the letters uſed by the *Gabrs* in their copies of the *Vendidàd:* this I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN, as a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention; but he ſeemed to hear me without ſurprize, and inſiſted, that the letters, to which I alluded, and which he had often ſeen, were monumental characters never uſed in books, and intended either to conceal ſome religious myſteries from the vulgar, or to diſplay the art of the ſculptor, like the embelliſhed *Cúfick* and *Nágarì* on ſeveral *Arabian* and *India* monuments. He wondered, that any man could ſeriouſly doubt the antiquity of the *Pahlavì* letters; and in truth the inſcription behind the horſe of *Ruſtam*, which NIEBUHR has alſo given us, is apparently *Pahlavì*, and might with ſome pains be decyphered: that character was extremely rude, and ſeems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Perſian* coins in the Muſeum of the great Anatomiſt, WILLIAM HUNTER, and, though I believed the legends to be *Pahlavì*, and had no doubt, that they were coins of *Parthian* kings, yet I could not read the inſcriptions without waſting more time, than I had then at command, in comparing the letters and aſcertaining the proportions, in which they ſeverally occurred.

The groſs *Pahlavì* was improved by ZERA-TUSHT or his diſciples into an elegant and perſpicuous character, in which the *Zendáveſtà* was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets; for they are manifeſtly both of *Chaldean* origin; but the *Zend* has the ſingular advantage of expreſſing all the long and ſhort vowels, by diſtinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are diſtinguiſhed by full points between them; ſo that, if modern *Perſian* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greateſt convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the *Sháhnámah*. As to the unknown inſcriptions in the palace of JEMSHI'D, it may reaſonably be doubted, whether they contain a ſyſtem of letters, which any nation ever adopted: in *five* of them the letters, which are ſeparated by points, may be reduced to forty, at leaſt I can diſtinguiſh no more eſſentially different; and they all ſeem to be regular variations and compoſitions of a ſtraight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to uſe the language of botaniſts) *hearted and lanced*. Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of ſimilar elements; and it has been obſerved, that the writing at *Perſepolis* bears a ſtrong reſemblance to that, which the *Iriſh* call *Ogham*:

the word *Agam* in *Sanſcrit* means *myſterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin, and only mean to ſuggeſt, that, if the characters in queſtion be really alphabetical, they were probably ſecret and ſacerdotal, or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the prieſts only had the key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but, in all the other inſcriptions of the ſame ſort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be ſymbols of articulate ſounds; for even the *Nágarì* ſyſtem, which has more diſtinct letters than any known alphabet, conſiſts only of forty-nine ſimple characters, two of which are mere ſubſtitutions, and four of little uſe in *Sanſcrit* or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, muſt be as numerous at leaſt as the *Chineſe* keys, which are the ſigns of *ideas* only, and ſome of which reſemble the old *Perſian* letters at *Iſtakhr*: the *Daniſh* traveller was convinced from his own obſervation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters uſed by *Hindu* nations; but I muſt leave this dark ſubject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myſelf, that the ſquare *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found on the *Perſian*

ruins, appear to have been originally the ſame with the *Dévanágarì*, before the latter were enclоſed, as we now ſee them, in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of *Irân*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI', was that, which NEWTON calls the oldeſt (and it may juſtly be called the nobleſt) of all religions; "a firm belief, that One Supreme God "made the world by his power, and continually "governed it by his providence; a pious fear, "love, and adoration of Him; a due reverence "for parents and aged perſons; a fraternal affec- "tion for the whole human ſpecies, and a com- "paſſionate tenderneſs even for the brute crea- "tion." A ſyſtem of devotion ſo pure and ſublime could hardly among mortals be of long duration; and we learn from the *Dabiſtàn*, that the popular worſhip of the *Irânians* under HU'SHANG was purely *Sabian*; a word, of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabà*, a *hoſt*, and, particularly the *hoſt of heaven*, or the *celeſtial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have conſiſted: there is a deſcription, in the learned work juſt mentioned, of the ſeveral *Perſian* temples dedicated to the Sun and Planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent proceſſions to them on preſcribed feſtivals, one of which is probably

repreſented by ſculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D; but the planetary worſhip in *Perſia* ſeems only a part of a far more complicated religion, which we now find in theſe *Indian* provinces; for MOHSAN aſſures us, that, in the opinion of the beſt informed *Perſians*, who profeſſed the faith of HU'SHANG, diſtinguiſhed from that of ZERA'TUSHT, the firſt monarch of *Irân* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D, a word apparently *Sanſcrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *ſervile*, to which he aſſigned names unqueſtionably the ſame in their origin with thoſe now applied to the four primary claſſes of the *Hindus*. They added, that He received from the creator, and promulgated among men, *a ſacred book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Muſelman* author gives the *Arabick* title of *deſâtîr*, or regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'DS had appeared or would appear in human ſhapes for the government of this world: now when we know, that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU's, or celeſtial perſonages with ſimilar functions, the *firſt* of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances*, which they hold equal to the *Véda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the firſt corruption of the

pureſt and oldeſt religion was the ſyſtem of *Indian* Theology, invented by the *Bráhmans* and prevalent in theſe territories, where the book of MAHA'BA'D or MENU is at this hour the ſtandard of all religious and moral duties. The acceſſion of CAYU'MERS to the throne of *Perſia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST, ſeems to have been accompanied by a conſiderable revolution both in government and religion: he was moſt probably of a different race from the *Mahábádians*, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new ſyſtem of national faith, which HU'SHANG, whoſe name it bears, completed; but the reformation was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheiſm of their predeceſſors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D, with a ſuperſtitious veneration for the ſun, the planets, and fire; thus reſembling the *Hindu* ſects, called *Saura's* and *Ságnica's*, the ſecond of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnihótra's* are continually blazing, and where the *Ságnica's*, when they enter on their ſacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Semi*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of ſolemn ſacrifices, the obſequies of departed anceſtors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERA'TUSHT; who reformed the old religion by

the addition of genii, or angels, preſiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration ſhown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by eſtabliſhing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being: he was born, according to MOHSAN, in the diſtrict of *Rai*; and it was He, not, as AMMIANUS aſſerts, his protector GUSHTASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely poſſible, that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* ſage muſt then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourſe between the two philoſophers. The reformed religion of *Perſia* continued in force, till that country was ſubdued by the *Muſelmans*; and, without ſtudying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Perſian* writings of ſeveral, who profeſſed it. BAHMAN always named ZERA'TUSHT, with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theiſt, and ſtrongly diſclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements: he denied, that the doctrine of two coeval principles, ſupremely good and ſupremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphaſis the verſes of FIRDAUSI on the proſtration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfather

before the blazing altar: "Think not, that they "were adorers of fire; for that element was "only an exalted object, on the luſtre of which "they fixed their eyes; they humbled them- "ſelves a whole week before GOD; and, if thy "underſtanding be ever ſo little exerted, thou "muſt acknowledge thy dependence on the "being ſupremely pure." In a ſtory of SADI, near the cloſe of his beautiful *Búſtàn*, concerning the idol of SO'MANA'T'H, or MAHA'DE'VA, he confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Bráhmans* not only *Moghs*, (which might be juſtified by a paſſage in the *Meſnavì*) but even readers of the *Zend* and *Pázend:* now, whether this confuſion proceeded from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot decide, but am as firmly convinced, that the doctrines of the *Zend* were diſtinct from thoſe of the *Véda*, as I am that the religion of the *Bráhmans*, with whom we converſe every day, prevailed in *Perſia* before the acceſſion of CAYU'MERS, whom the *Pársì's*, from reſpect to his memory, conſider as the firſt of men, although they believe in *an univerſal deluge* before his reign.

With the religion of the old *Perſians* their *philoſophy* (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were aſſiduous obſervers of the luminaries, which they adored,

and eſtabliſhed, according to MOHSAN, who confirms in ſome degree the fragments of BEROSUS, a number of artificial cycles with diſtinct names, which ſeem to indicate a knowledge of the period, in which the equinoxes appear to revolve: they are ſaid alſo to have known the moſt wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanters; but I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphyſical theology, which has been profeſſed immemorially by a numerous ſect of *Perſians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Muſelmans*, who ſometimes avow it without reſerve. The modern philoſophers of this perſuaſion are called *Súfi's*, either from the *Greek* word for *a ſage*, or from the *woollen* mantle, which they uſed to wear in ſome provinces of *Perſia*: their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exiſts abſolutely but GOD: that the human ſoul is an emanation from his eſſence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly ſource, will be finally re-united with it; that the higheſt poſſible happineſs will ariſe from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind, in this tranſitory world, conſiſts in as perfect an *union* with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpoſe, they ſhould break all *connexion* (or *taálluk*,

as they call it), with extrinſick objects, and paſs through life without *attachments*, as a ſwimmer in the ocean ſtrikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they ſhould be ſtraight and free as the cypreſs, whoſe fruit is hardly perceptible, and not ſink under a load, like fruit-trees *attached* to a trellis; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the ſoul, the *idea* of celeſtial beauty muſt overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to expreſs the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we muſt borrow ſuch expreſſions as approach the neareſt to our ideas, and ſpeak of *Beauty* and *Love* in a tranſcendent and myſtical ſenſe; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *wax* ſeparated from its delicious honey, the ſoul of man bewails its diſunion with *melancholy muſick*, and ſheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paſſionately for the moment of its extinction, as a diſengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more ſubtil metaphyſicks of the *Sùfi's*, which are mentioned in the *Dabiſtàn)* is the wild and enthuſiaſtick religion of the modern *Perſian* poets, eſpecially of the ſweet HA'FIZ and the great *Maulavì:* ſuch is the ſyſtem of the *Vèdánti* philoſophers and beſt lyrick poets of *India*; and, as it was a ſyſtem of the higheſt an-

tiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. On the ancient *monuments* of *Perſian* ſculpture and architecture we have already made ſuch obſervations, as were ſufficient for our purpoſe; nor will you be ſurprized at the diverſity between the figures at *Elephanta*, which are manifeſtly *Hindu*, and thoſe at *Perſepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemſhid* was erected after the time of CAYU'MERS, when the *Bráhmans* had migrated from *Irán*, and when their intricate mythology had been ſuperſeded by the ſimpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *ſciences* or *arts* of the old *Perſians*, I have little to ſay; and no complete evidence of them ſeems to exiſt. MOHSAN ſpeaks more than once of ancient verſes in the *Pahlavì* language; and BAHMAN aſſured me, that ſome ſcanty remains of them had been preſerved: their muſick and painting, which NIZA'MI celebrated, have irrecoverably periſhed; and in regard to MA'NI', the painter and impoſtor, whoſe book of drawings called *Artang*, which he pretended to be divine, is ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the *Chineſe*, in whoſe dominions he had ſought refuge, the whole tale is too modern to throw any light on the queſtions before

us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reaſoning, that a powerful monarchy was eſtabliſhed in *Irân* long before the *Aſſyrian*, or *Piſhdádì*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though, if any chuſe to call it *Cuſian*, *Caſdean*, or *Scythian*, we ſhall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it ſubſiſted many centuries, and that its hiſtory has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhyà* and *Indrapreſtha*; that the language of the firſt *Perſian* empire was the mother of the *Sanſcrit*, and conſequently of the *Zend*, and *Parſi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothick*; that the language of the *Aſſyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavì*, and that the primary *Tartarian* language alſo had been current in the ſame empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpoliſhed and variable idioms. We diſcover, therefore, in *Perſia*, at the earlieſt dawn of hiſtory, the *three* diſtinct races of men, whom we deſcribed on former occaſions as poſſeſſors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and, whether they were collected in *Irân* from diſtant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we ſhall eaſily determine by the following conſiderations. Let us obſerve in the

firſt place the central poſition of *Iràn*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilſt *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iràn* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the ſkirts of *India* by a conſiderable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Perſia* ſeems likely to have ſent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Aſia*: the *Bráhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iràn*, becauſe they are expreſsly forbidden by their oldeſt exiſting laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Perſia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extenſive domains; and, as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in hiſtory of their departure from their plains and foreſts, till the invaſion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologiſts, were the ſons of MADAI, and even they were conducted by princes of an *Aſſyrian* family. The *three* races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found) migrated from *Iràn*, as from their common country; and thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I preſume from good authority, brings the firſt inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious reſearches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Perſia*; and another contends with

great force, that both the *Iriſh* and old *Britons* proceeded ſeverally from the borders of the *Caſpian*; a coincidence of concluſions from different media by perſons wholly unconnected, which could ſcarce have happened, if they were not grounded on ſolid principles. We may therefore hold this propoſition firmly eſtabliſhed, that *Irân*, or *Perſia* in its largeſt ſenſe, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts; which, inſtead of travelling weſtward only, as it has been fancifully ſuppoſed, or caſtward, as might with equal reaſon have been aſſerted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world, in which the *Hindu* race had ſettled under various denominations: but, whether *Aſia* has not produced other races of men, diſtinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diverſity may not have ſprung from an intermixture of thoſe three in different proportions, muſt be the ſubject of a future inquiry. There is another queſtion of more immediate importance, which you, gentlemen, only can decide: namely, "by "what means we can preſerve our Society from "dying gradually away, as it has advanced gra-"dually to its preſent (ſhall I ſay flouriſhing or "languiſhing?) ſtate." It has ſubſiſted five years without any expenſe to the members of it, until the firſt volume of our Tranſactions was publiſhed;

and the price of that large volume, if we compare the different values of money in *Bengal* and in *England*, is not more than equal to the *annual* contribution towards the charges of the Royal Society by each of its fellows, who may not have chosen to compound for it on his admission: this I mention, not from an idea that any of us could object to the purchase of one copy at least, but from a wish to inculcate the necessity of our common exertions in promoting the sale of the work both here and in *London*. In vain shall we meet, as a literary body, if our meetings shall cease to be supplied with original dissertations and memorials; and in vain shall we collect the most interesting papers, if we cannot publish them occasionally without exposing the Superintendents of the Company's press, who undertake to print them at their own hazard, to the danger of a considerable loss: by united efforts the *French* have compiled their stupendous repositories of universal knowledge; and by united efforts only can we hope to rival them, or to diffuse over our own country and the rest of *Europe* the lights attainable by our *Asiatick Researches*.

THE SEVENTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 25 FEBRUARY, 1790.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment conſiderably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the fartheſt limit of the *Britiſh* dominions in *Hinduſtán*, yet the firſt ſtep, that we ſhall take in the philoſophical journey, which I propoſe for your entertainment at the preſent meeting, will carry us to the utmoſt verge of the habitable globe known to the beſt geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whoſe knowledge we ſhall diſcern from the heights of the northern mountains an empire nearly equal in ſurface to a ſquare of fifteen degrees; an empire, of which I do not mean to aſſign the preciſe limits, but which we may conſider, for the purpoſe of this diſſertation, as embraced on two ſides by *Tartary* and *India*, while

the ocean ſeparates its other ſides from various *Aſiatick* iſles of great importance in the commercial ſyſtem of *Europe:* annexed to that immenſe tract of land is the peninſula of *Corea*, which a vaſt oval baſon divides from *Nifon* or *Japan*, a celebrated and imperial iſland, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of ſituation but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eaſtern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the weſt. So many climates are included in ſo prodigious an area, that, while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*; ſuch too is the diverſity of ſoil in its fifteen provinces, that, while ſome of them are exquiſitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*, and thoſe either wholly deſerted, or peopled by ſavage hordes, who, if they be not ſtill independent, have been very lately ſubdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chineſe* poem, of which I have ſeen a tranſlation.

The word *China*, concerning which I ſhall offer ſome new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chineſe*; but they

never apply it (I ſpeak of the learned among them) to themſelves or to their country: themſelves, according to Father VISDELOU, they deſcribe as the *people of* HAN, or of ſome other illuſtrious family, by the memory of whoſe actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chûm-cuë*, or the *Central Kingdom*, repreſenting it in their ſymbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly biſſected: at other times they diſtinguiſh it by the words *Tien-hia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themſelves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever ſpoken of them in the extremes of applauſe or of cenſure: by ſome they have been extolled as the oldeſt and the wiſeſt, as the moſt learned and moſt ingenious, of nations; whilſt others have derided their pretenſions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of ſcience, or a ſingle art, for which they have not been indebted to ſome more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we uſually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my deſign to accuſe or to defend the *Chineſe*, to depreſs or to aggrandize them: I ſhall confine myſelf to the diſ-

cuſſion of a queſtion connected with my former diſcourſes, and far leſs eaſy to be ſolved than any hitherto ſtarted. "Whence came the ſingular "people, who long had governed *China*, before "they were conquered by the *Tartars?*" On this problem, the ſolution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial intereſts, but a very material connection, if I miſtake not, with intereſts of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily aſſerted, than ſupported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chineſe* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now poſſeſs; by others, and chiefly by the miſſionaries, it is inſiſted, that they ſprang from the ſame ſtock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*; a third aſſertion is that of the *Arabs* themſelves and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally *Tartars* deſcending in wild clans from the ſteeps of *Imaus*; and a fourth, at leaſt as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Bráhmens*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their deciſion, that the *Chinas* (for ſo they are named in *Sanſcrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cſhatriya*, or military, claſs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-eaſt of *Bengal*; and, forgetting by degrees

the rites and religion of their anceſtors, eſtabliſhed ſeparate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now poſſeſſed by them. If any one of the three laſt opinions be juſt, the firſt of them muſt neceſſarily be relinquiſhed; but of thoſe three, the firſt cannot poſſibly be ſuſtained; becauſe it reſts on no firmer ſupport than a fooliſh remark, whether true or falſe, that *Sem* in *Chineſe* means *life* and *procreation*; and becauſe a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chineſe* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human ſagacity could not, I believe, diſcover any other trace of reſemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whoſe voyage to *India* and *China* has been tranſlated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chineſe* not only handſomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual reſemblance between the *Chineſe* and *Arabs*, except in dreſs and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Bráhmens*, than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expreſsly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*; yet the dragon on the ſtandard, and ſome other peculiarities, from

which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chineſe*, belonged indubitably to thoſe *Scythians*, who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifeſtly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the preface to his Reſearches, on the ſimilarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the *Chineſe* were anciently of a *Tartarian* ſtock, is a propoſition, which I cannot otherwiſe diſprove for the preſent, than by inſiſting on the total diſſimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we ſhow ſtrong grounds for believing, that the firſt *Chineſe* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are miſtaken: it is to the diſcuſſion of this new and, in my opinion, very intereſting point, that I ſhall confine the remainder of my diſcourſe.

In the *Sanſcrit* Inſtitutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA', we find the following curious paſſage: "Many families of the "military claſs, having gradually abandoned the "ordinances of the *Vèda*, and the company of "*Bráhmens*, lived in a ſtate of degradation; as "the people of *Pundraca* and *Odra*, thoſe of "*Dravira* and *Camboja*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*,

" the *Páradas* and *Pahlavas*, the *Chínas* and " ſome other nations." A full comment on this text would here be ſuperfluous; but, ſince the teſtimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine perſonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moraliſt, and hiſtorian, is direct and poſitive, diſintereſted and unſuſpected, it would, I think, decide the queſtion before us, if we could be ſure, that the word *China* ſignified a *Chineſe*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have ſeparately conſulted, aſſert with one voice: they aſſure me, that the *Chínas* of MENU ſettled in a fine country to the north-eaſt of *Gaur*, and to the eaſt of *Cámarùp* and *Népàl*; that they have long been, and ſtill are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themſelves ſeen old *Chineſe* idols, which bore a manifeſt relation to the primitive religion of *India* before BUDDHA's appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* ſhowed me a *Sanſcrit* book in *Caſhmirian* letters, which, he ſaid, was revealed by SIVA himſelf, and entitled *Sacti-ſangama:* he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chínas*, who were divided, ſays the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of *Aſia*; and, when I pointed to *Caſhmir*, his own country, he inſtantly placed his finger on the north-weſtern provinces of *China*, where the *Chínas*, he ſaid,

firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves; but he added, that *Maháchina*, which was alſo mentioned in his book, extended to the eaſtern and ſouthern oceans. I believe, nevertheleſs, that the *Chineſe* empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of MENU were collected; and for this belief, ſo repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reaſons. If the outline of hiſtory and chronology for the laſt two thouſand years be correctly traced, (and we muſt be hardy ſcepticks to doubt it) the poems of CA'LIDA'S were compoſed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábhárat* were conſiderably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the ſtyle and metre of the *Dherma Sáſtra* revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VA'LMIC or VYA'SA, the ſecond of whom names it with applauſe: we ſhall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of thoſe laws between a thouſand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; eſpecially as BUDDHA, whoſe age is pretty well aſcertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chineſe* empire was at leaſt in its cradle. This fact it is neceſſary to prove; and my firſt witneſs is CONFUCIUS himſelf. I know to what keen ſatire I

ſhall expoſe myſelf by citing that philoſopher, after the bitter ſarcaſms of M. PAUW againſt him and againſt the tranſlators of his mutilated, but valuable, works: yet I quote without ſcruple the book entitled *Lún Yú*, of which I poſſeſs the original with a verbal tranſlation, and which I know to be ſufficiently authentick for my preſent purpoſe: in the ſecond part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that "Although he, like other men, "could relate, as mere leſſons of morality, the "hiſtories of the firſt and ſecond imperial houſes, "yet, *for want of evidence*, he could give no "certain account of them." Now, if the *Chineſe* themſelves do not even pretend, that any hiſtorical monuments exiſted, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the riſe of their third dynaſty about eleven hundred years before the *Chriſtian* epoch, we may juſtly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till ſome ages after that prince; and it has been aſſerted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynaſty, which he has the fame of having raiſed, no unſuſpected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a ſmall kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-ſi*, the capital of which ſtood nearly in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the weſt of

Si-gan: both the country and its metropolis were called *Chín*; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the eaſt and weſt. A king of *Chín*, who makes a figure in the *Sháh-námah* among the allies of AFRA'SIYA'B, was, I preſume, a ſovereign of the country juſt mentioned; and the river of *Chín*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eaſtern geography, ſeems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chineſe* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I ſhould be tempted to expatiate on ſo curious a ſubject; but the preſent occaſion allows nothing ſuperfluous, and permits me only to add, that *Mangúkhán* died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chín*, which was afterwards taken by KUBLAI, and that the poets of *Irán* perpetually allude to the diſtricts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegil* and *Khoten*, for a number of muſk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chín*, ſo called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Perſians*, and by the *Chineſe* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged by their defective articulation to miſcal it *Sín*) gave its name to a race of emperors, whoſe tyranny made their memory ſo unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and ſpeak of themſelves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynaſty; but it is highly

probable that the whole nation deſcended from the *Chinas* of MENU, and, mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more ſouthern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now ſee in poſſeſſion of the nobleſt empire in *Aſia*.

In ſupport of an opinion, which I offer as the reſult of long and anxious inquiries, I ſhould regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philoſophy, of the preſent *Chineſe*, and ſubjoin ſome remarks on their ancient monuments, on their ſciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their ſpoken *language*, not having been preſerved by the uſual ſymbols of articulate ſounds, muſt have been for many ages in a continual flux; their *letters*, if we may ſo call them, are merely the ſymbols of ideas; their popular *religion* was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their *philoſophy* ſeems yet in ſo rude a ſtate, as hardly to deſerve the appellation; they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plauſible conjecture; their *ſciences* are wholly exotick; and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteriſtick of a particular family; nothing, which any ſet of men, in a country ſo highly favoured by nature, might not have diſcovered and improved. They have in-

deed, both national muſick and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, ſculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they ſeem (like other *Aſiaticks*) to have no idea. Inſtead, therefore, of enlarging ſeparately on each of thoſe heads, I ſhall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppoſe the propoſition, which I have advanced.

The declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the ſubject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Bráhmens:* he maintains, that the *Chineſe* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*, (for they were clearly the ſame people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their inſtitutions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Perſians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of ſuch an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of ſo learned a man cannot ſupport; and, ſince reaſon grounded on facts can alone decide ſuch a queſtion, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and ſtronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a ſtrong reſem-

blance to the mythological ſculptures and paintings of *India*, but ſeem wholly diſſimilar to the ſymbolical ſyſtem of the *Chineſe*, which might eaſily have been invented (as they aſſert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the firſt *Chinas*, or out-caſt *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiſer anceſtors. As to the table and buſts of ISIS, they ſeem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indiſputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpoſe; for the letters on the buſt appear to have been deſigned as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, ſince two or three of them are exactly the ſame with thoſe on a metal pillar yet ſtanding in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the teſtimony of the *Greeks*, who ſtudied no language but their own, there were two ſets of alphabetical characters; the one *popular*, like the various letters uſed in our *Indian* provinces; and the other *ſacerdotal*, like the *Dévanágarì*, eſpecially that form of it, which we ſee in the *Véda*; beſides which they had two ſorts of *ſacred ſculpture*; the one ſimple, like the figures of BUDDHA and the three RA'MAS; and the other, allegorical, like the images of GANE'SA, or *Divine Wiſdom*, and ISA'NI', or *Nature*, with all

their emblematical accompaniments; but the *real character* of the *Chineſe* appears wholly diſtinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either myſterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. DE GUIGNES, that the complicated ſymbols of *China* were at firſt no more than *Phenician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned ſo wild a conceit, which he ſtarted probably with no other view than to diſplay his ingenuity and learning.

We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chineſe* were originally (like our aſtronomical and chymical ſymbols) the pictures or outlines of viſible objects, or figurative ſigns for ſimple ideas, which they have multiplied by the moſt ingenious combinations and the livelieſt metaphors; but, as the ſyſtem is peculiar, I believe, to themſelves and the *Japaneſe*, it would be idly oſtentatious to enlarge on it at preſent; and, for the reaſons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to ſupport. The ſame may as truly be ſaid of their *ſpoken* language; for, independently of its conſtant fluctuation during a ſeries of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five ſounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monoſyllables, even when the ideas expreſſed by them, and the written ſymbols for thoſe ideas, are very complex. This has ariſen,

I ſuppoſe, from the ſingular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be ſo *muſically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants thoſe *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monoſyllabick: thus *Amita*, with an accent on the firſt ſyllable, means, in the *Sanſcrit* language, *immeaſurable*; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito*; but, when the religion of BUDDHA, the ſon of MA'YA', was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him FOE, the ſon of MO-YE, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three ſyllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expreſſing them in writing by three diſtinct ſymbols. We may judge from this inſtance, whether a compariſon of their ſpoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain concluſion as to their origin; yet the inſtance, which I have given, ſupplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plauſible, the oftener I conſider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unqueſtionably the FOE of *China*; but the great progenitor of the *Chineſe* is alſo named by them FO-HI, where the ſecond monoſyllable ſignifies, it ſeems, a *victim:* now the anceſtor of that military tribe, whom the *Hindus* call the

Chandravanſa, or Children of the MOON, was, according to their *Purânas* or legends, BUDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the *fifth* degree, deſcended a prince named DRUHYA; whom his father YAYA'TI ſent in exile to the eaſt of *Hinduſtán*, with this imprecation, "may thy progeny be ignorant of the "*Véda*." The name of the baniſhed prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chineſe*; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the laſt ſyllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheleſs obſerve that YAO was the *fifth* in deſcent from FO-HI, or at leaſt the fifth mortal in the firſt imperial dynaſty; that all *Chineſe* hiſtory before him is conſidered by *Chineſe* themſelves as poetical or fabulous; that his father TI-CO, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the firſt prince who married ſeveral women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, ſay the *Chineſe*, in a province of the weſt, and held his court in the territory of *Chín*, where the rovers, mentioned by the *Indian* legiſlator, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled. Another circumſtance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to father DE PREMARE, in his tract on *Chineſe* mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *Daughter of Heaven*, ſurnamed *Flower-loving*, and, as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a *river* with a ſimilar name, ſhe found herſelf on a

ſudden encircled by a *rain-bow*; ſoon after which ſhe became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a ſon radiant as herſelf, who, among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now in the mythological ſyſtem of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI', who preſides over the fourth lunar manſion, was the favourite miſtreſs of SO'MA, or the Moon, among whoſe numerous epithets we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *Delighting in a* ſpecies of *water-flower*, that bloſſoms at night; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called alſo, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'YA or SAUMYA: it is true, that the learned miſſionary explains the word SU'I by *Jupiter*; but an exact reſemblance between two ſuch fables could not have been expected; and it is ſufficient for my purpoſe, that they ſeem to have a family likeneſs. The God BUDHA, ſay the *Indians*, married ILA', whoſe father was preſerved in a miraculous ark from an univerſal deluge: now, although I cannot inſiſt with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chineſe* fable alludes to the *Moſaick* narrative of the flood, nor build any ſolid argument on the divine perſonage NIU-VA, of whoſe character, and even of whoſe ſex, the hiſtorians of *China* ſpeak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheleſs, aſſure you, after full inquiry and conſideration, that the *Chineſe*, like the *Hindus*, believe this

earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undiſputed authenticity, they deſcribe as *flowing abundantly, then ſubſiding, and ſeparating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *diviſion of time*, from which their poetical hiſtory begins, juſt preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great *inundation* in the reign of YAO was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any alluſion to the flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly miſplaced by the *Chineſe* annaliſts.

The importation of a new religion into *China*, in the firſt century of our era, muſt lead us to ſuppoſe, that the former ſyſtem, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpoſe of reſtraining the great body of the people from thoſe offences againſt conſcience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly poſſible that, without ſuch reſtrictions, any government could long have ſubſiſted with felicity; for no government can long ſubſiſt without equal juſtice, and juſtice cannot be adminiſtered without the ſanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works tranſlated by COUPLET; they profeſſed a firm belief in the

ſupreme GOD, and gave a demonſtration of his being and of his providence from the exquiſite beauty and perfection of the celeſtial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the viſible world. From this belief they deduced a ſyſtem of Ethicks, which the philoſopher ſums up in a few words at the cloſe of the *Lún-yù*: "He," ſays CONFUCIUS, "who "ſhall be fully perſuaded, that the Lord of "Heaven governs the univerſe, who ſhall in all "things chuſe moderation, who ſhall perfectly "know his own ſpecies, and ſo act among them, "that his life and manners may conform to his "knowledge of GOD and man, may be truly "ſaid to diſcharge all the duties of a ſage, and "to be far exalted above the common herd of "the human race." But ſuch a religion and ſuch morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient ſyſtem of ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, which the government and the philoſophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with ſome parts of the oldeſt *Indian* worſhip: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary ſpirits, preſiding over the ſtars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckoned *five)* and particularly

over *fire*, the moſt brilliant of them: to thoſe deities they offered victims on high places; and the following paſſage from the *Shi-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the ſtyle of the *Bráhmans*: "Even they, who perform a ſacrifice with "due reverence, cannot perfectly aſſure them-"ſelves, that the divine ſpirits accept their ob-"lations; and far leſs can they, who adore the "Gods with languor and oſcitancy, clearly per-"ceive their ſacred illapſes." Theſe are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces, of an affinity between the religion of MENU and that of the *Chinas*, whom he names among the apoſtates from it: M. LE GENTIL obſerved, he ſays, a ſtrong reſemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chineſe* and the *Srάddha* of the *Hindus*: and M. BAILLY, after a learned inveſtigation, concludes, that "Even the puerile and abſurd "ſtories of the *Chineſe* fabuliſts contain a rem-"nant of ancient *Indian* hiſtory, with a faint "ſketch of the firſt *Hindu* ages." As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practiſed in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* poſitively forbad the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently ſacrificed by the *Chineſe*; beſides which we diſcover many ſingular marks of relation between

them and the old *Hindus:* as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty two thouſand*, and the cycle of *ſixty*, years; in the predilection for the myſtical number *nine*; in many ſimilar faſts and great feſtivals, eſpecially at the ſolſtices and equinoxes; in the juſt-mentioned obſequies conſiſting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their anceſtors; in the dread of dying childleſs, leſt ſuch offerings ſhould be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried ſo far, that MENU himſelf, where he allows a *Bráhmen* to trade, if he cannot otherwiſe ſupport life, abſolutely forbids "his trafficking in any ſort of "*red* cloths, whether linen or woollen, or made "of woven bark." All the circumſtances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion*, ſeem collectively to prove (as far as ſuch a queſtion admits proof) that the *Chineſe* and *Hindus* were originally the ſame people, but having been ſeparated near four thouſand years, have retained few ſtrong features of their ancient conſanguinity, eſpecially as the *Hindus* have preſerved their old language and ritual, while the *Chineſe* very ſoon loſt both, and the *Hindus* have conſtantly intermarried among themſelves, while the *Chineſe*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, have at length formed a race

diſtinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars.*

A ſimilar diverſity has ariſen, I believe, from ſimilar cauſes, between the people of *China* and *Japan*; on the ſecond of which nations we have now, or ſoon ſhall have, as correct and as ample inſtruction as can poſſibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chineſe* characters. KÆMPFER has taken from M. TITSINGH the honour of being the firſt, and he from KÆMPFER that of being the only, *European*, who, by a long reſidence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourſe with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentick materials for the natural and civil hiſtory of a country *ſecluded*, as the *Romans* uſed to ſay of our own iſland, *from the reſt of the world:* the works of thoſe illuſtrious travellers will confirm and embelliſh each other; and, when M. TITSINGH ſhall have acquired a knowledge of *Chineſe*, to which a part of his leiſure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures and ſciences of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhauſtible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predeceſſor aſſert with confidence, and, I doubt not, with truth, that the *Japaneſe* would reſent, as an inſult on their dignity, the bare

ſuggeſtion of their deſcent from the *Chineſe*, whom they ſurpaſs in ſeveral of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater conſequence, in military ſpirit; but they do not, I underſtand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the ſame ancient ſtem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever ſo warmly conteſted by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this diſcourſe, on the origin of the *Chineſe*, be thought to contain juſt reaſoning. In the firſt place, it ſeems inconceivable, that the *Japaneſe*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, ſhould have adopted the whole ſyſtem of *Chineſe* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not ſubſiſted between the two nations, or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race, who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and, about ſix hundred years afterwards, eſtabliſhed their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning, which they and the *Chineſe* had poſſeſſed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earlieſt ages; and among the idols worſhipped, according to KÆMPFER, in that country, before the innovations of SA'CYA or BUDDHA, whom the *Japaneſe* alſo call AMIDA,

we find many of thoſe, which we ſee every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly *the goddeſs with many arms*, repreſenting the powers of Nature, in *Egypt* named Isis and here Isa'ni' or Isi', whoſe image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans*, to whom I ſhowed it, immediately recognized with a mixture of pleaſure and enthuſiaſm. It is very true, that the *Chineſe* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the ſtrength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is obſervable among all the nations of the *Gothick* family; and we might account even for a greater diſſimilarity, by conſidering the number of ages, during which the ſeveral ſwarms have been ſeparated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged. The modern *Japaneſe* gave Kæmpfer the idea of poliſhed *Tartars*; and it is reaſonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial claſs and advanced farther eaſtward than the *Chinas*, have, like them, inſenſibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found looſely ſcattered over their iſles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

Having now ſhown in five diſcourſes, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally diſtinct races,

while the *Hindus*, *Chineſe*, and *Japaneſe* proceeded from another ancient ſtem, and that all the three ſtems may be traced to *Irân*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thouſand years ago, I may ſeem to have accompliſhed my deſign of inveſtigating the origin of the *Aſiatick* nations; but the queſtions, which I undertook to diſcuſs, are not yet ripe for a ſtrict analytical argument; and it will firſt be neceſſary to examine with ſcrupulous attention all the detached or inſulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Perſia*, and *China*, or are interſperſed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of thoſe extenſive regions. To this examination I ſhall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire diſcourſe; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a ſubſequent conſideration, whether thoſe three ſtocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preſerved amid the violent ſhocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have ſuſtained.

THE EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1791.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have taken a general view, at our five laſt annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the ſubject admits of proof, to have deſcended from three primitive ſtocks, which we call for the preſent *Indian*, *Arabian*, *Tartarian*; and we have nearly travelled over all *Aſia*, if not with a perfect coincidence of ſentiment, at leaſt, with as much unanimity, as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom muſt aſſert it as his right, and conſider it as his duty, to decide on all points for himſelf, and never to decide on obſcure points without the beſt evidence, that can poſſibly be adduced: our travels will this day be concluded, but our hiſtorical reſearches would have been left incomplete, if we had paſſed without attention over the numerous

races of borderers, who have long been eſtabliſhed on the limits of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, and *Tartary*; over the wild tribes reſiding in the mountainous parts of thoſe extenſive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the iſlands annexed by geographers to their *Aſiatick* diviſion of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume* near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and, having encircled *Aſia*, with ſuch deviations from our courſe as the ſubject may require, let us return to the point, from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation, who may clearly be ſhown, by juſt reaſoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither *Indians*, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars*, pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any ſmall family detached in an early age from their parent ſtock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the firſt neceſſity, and conſequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an iſland, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might in four or five centuries people their new country, and would neceſſarily form a new language with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that ſpoken by their anceſtors. *Edom* or *Idume*, and *Erythra* or *Phœnice*, had originally, as many believe, a ſimilar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a *red* colour;

but, whatever be their derivation, it ſeems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently ſettled in *Idume* and in *Median*, whom the oldeſt and beſt *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*; who were very diſtinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many ſtrong teſtimonies, we may ſafely refer to the *Indian* ſtem. M. D'HERBELOT mentions a tradition (which he treats, indeed, as a fable), that a colony of thoſe *Idumeans* had migrated from the northern ſhores of the *Erythrean* ſea, and ſailed acroſs the *Mediterranean* to *Europe*, at the time fixed by Chronologers for the paſſage of EVANDER with his *Arcadians* into *Italy*, and that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were the progeny of thoſe emigrants. It is not on vague and ſuſpected traditions, that we muſt build our belief of ſuch events; but NEWTON, who advanced nothing in ſcience without demonſtration, and nothing in hiſtory without ſuch evidence as he thought concluſive, aſſerts from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the *Idumean* voyagers "carried with them both arts and ſciences, "among which were their aſtronomy, naviga-"tion, and letters; for in *Idume*, ſays he, they "had *letters*, and *names for conſtellations*, before "the days of JOB, who mentions them." JOB, indeed, or the author of the book, which takes its name from him, was of the *Arabian* ſtock,

as the language of that ſublime work inconteſtably proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and aſtronomy are by all ſo juſtly aſcribed to the *Indian* family, that, if STRABO and HERODOTUS were not groſsly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who firſt gave names to the ſtars, and hazarded long voyages in ſhips of their own conſtruction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race: in all events, there is no ground for believing them of a *fourth* diſtinct lineage; and we need ſay no more of them, till we meet them again, on our return, under the name of *Phenicians*.

As we paſs down the formidable ſea, which rolls over its coral bed between the coaſt of the *Arabs*, or thoſe, who ſpeak the pure language of ISMAÏL, and that of the *Ajams*, or thoſe, who *mutter it barbarouſly*, we find no certain traces, on the *Arabian* ſide, of any people, who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed: anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglodytes* in part of the peninſula, but they ſeem to have been long ſupplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdſmen; and who thoſe *Troglodytes* were, we ſhall ſee very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a ſhort excurſion into countries very lately explored on the Weſtern, or *African*, ſide of the Red Sea.

That the written *Abyſſinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and a ſiſter of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty, not only from the great multitude of identical words, but (which is a far ſtronger proof) from the ſimilar grammatical arrangement of the ſeveral idioms: we know at the ſame time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Dévanágarì*, to the conſonants; with which they form a ſyllabick ſyſtem extremely clear and convenient, but diſpoſed in a leſs artificial order than the ſyſtem of letters now exhibited in the *Sanſcrit* grammars; whence it may juſtly be inferred, that the order contrived by PA'NINI or his diſciples is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a curſory examination of many old inſcriptions on pillars and in caves, which have obligingly been ſent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nágarì* and *Ethiopian* letters had at firſt a ſimilar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyſſinians* of the *Arabian* ſtock, having no ſymbols of their own to repreſent articulate ſounds, borrowed thoſe of the black pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour: they were probably the firſt inhabitants of *Africa*, where they be-

came in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of ſeminaries for the advancement of ſcience and philoſophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of ſymbolical characters. I believe on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the ſame people with the firſt *Egyptians*, and conſequently, as it might eaſily be ſhown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whoſe travels are to my taſte uniformly agreeable and ſatisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate, information concerning the nations eſtabliſhed near the *Nile* from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have ſupplied; but, ſince he has not been at the pains to compare the ſeven languages, of which he has exhibited a ſpecimen, and ſince I have not leiſure to make the compariſon, I muſt be ſatisfied with obſerving, on his authority, that the dialects of the *Gafots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falaſhas*, who muſt originally have uſed a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preſerved in writing, and the *Amharick* only in modern times: they muſt, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain concluſion as to the origin of the ſeveral tribes, who an-

ciently ſpoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved, that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the ſouthern nations of *Africk* and to the people, among we now live; nor is it leſs obſervable, that, according to EPHORUS quoted by STRABO, they called all the ſouthern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus uſing *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertible terms: but we muſt leave the gymnoſophiſts of *Ethiopia*, who ſeem to have profeſſed the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Indian* ocean, of which their *Aſiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the firſt navigators.

On the iſlands near *Yemen* we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mohammedans*, and afford no marks of diſcrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners; but I cannot bid farewel to the coaſt of *Arabia*, without aſſuring you, that, whatever may be ſaid of *Ommán*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly ſettled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Maſkat*, of any nation, who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyſſinian* invaders.

Between that country and *Irán* are ſome iſlands, which, from their inſignificance in our preſent inquiry, may here be neglected; and, as

to the *Curds*, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of *Taurus* or the banks of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin: it has, indeed, been aſſerted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in *Diyárbecr* yet ſpeak the *Chaldaick* of our ſcripture; and the rambling *Turcmáns* have retained, I imagine, ſome traces of their *Tartarian* idioms; but, ſince no veſtige appears, from the gulf of *Perſia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people diſtinct from the *Arabs*, *Perſians*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no ſuch people exiſts in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to thoſe, which ſeparate *Irán* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called *Párſici*, where they run towards the weſt, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanſcrit* word, where they turn in an eaſtern direction, and *Paropamiſus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently diſtinguiſhed among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Deradas*, but ſeem to have been deſtroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of *Afgháns* or *Patans*, among whom are the *Balójas*, who give their name to a mountainous diſtrict; and there is very ſolid ground for believing, that the *Afgháns* deſcended from the *Jews*; becauſe they ſometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they ſedulouſly conceal,

and which other *Muſelmans* poſitively aſſert; becauſe *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Aſareth* of ESDRAS, is one of their territories; and, principally, becauſe their language is evidently a dialect of the ſcriptural *Chaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu* and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a diſtrict, called by NEARCHUS, in his journal, *Sangada*; which M. D'ANVILLE juſtly ſuppoſes to be the ſeat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at preſent by our countrymen in the weſt of *India*. Mr. MALET, now reſident at *Púna* on the part of the *Britiſh* government, procured at my requeſt the *Sanganian* letters, which are a ſort of *Nágarì*, and a ſpecimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialects, from the *Sanſcrit*; nor can I doubt, from the deſcriptions, which I have received, of their perſons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcaſt *Hindus*, immemorially ſeparated from the reſt of the nation. It ſeems agreed, that the ſingular people, called *Egyptians*, and, by corruption, *Gypſies*, paſſed the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. GRELLMANN exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains ſo many *Sanſcrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can

hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary ſeems eſtabliſhed by a multitude of *Gypſy* words, as *angár*, charcoal, *cáſhth*, wood, *pár*, a bank, *bhú*, earth, and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hinduſtán*, though we know them to be pure *Sanſcrit* ſcarce changed in a ſingle letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, ſuggeſted to me, that thoſe very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*, and that the *Gypſies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Thebes*, where a race of banditti ſtill reſemble them in their habits and features; but, as we have no other evidence of ſo ſtrong an affinity between the popular dialects of old *Egypt* and *India*, it ſeems more probable, that the *Gypſies*, whom the *Italians* call *Zingaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'ANVILLE alſo writes the word, who might, in ſome piratical expedition, have landed on the coaſt of *Arabia* or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindneſs of Mr. MALET I am alſo indebted for an account of the *Boras*; a remarkable race of men inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarát*, who, though *Muſelmans* in religion, are *Jews* in features, genius, and manners: they form in

all places a diſtinct fraternity, and are every where noted for addreſs in bargaining, for minute thrift, and conſtant attention to lucre, but profeſs total ignorance of their own origin; though it ſeems probable, that they came firſt with their brethren the *Afghâns* to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and ſecure occupation in populous towns to perpetual wars and laborious exertions on the mountains. As to the *Moplas*, in the weſtern parts of the *Indian* empire, I have ſeen their books in *Arabick*, and am perſuaded, that, like the people called *Malays*, they deſcended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of MUHAMMED.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipáſa*, or *Hyphaſis*, to the weſt, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Cámarúpa* to the eaſt, and *Himálaya* to the north, we find many races of wild people with more or leſs of that priſtine ferocity, which induced their anceſtors to ſecede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the moſt ancient *Sanſcrit* books they are called *Sacas*, *Cirátas*, *Cólas*, *Pulindas*, *Barbaras*, and are all known to *Europeans*, though not all by their true names; but many *Hindu* pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully deſcribed them to me; and I have found reaſons for believing, that they ſprang

from the old *Indian* ſtem, though ſome of them were ſoon intermixed with the firſt ramblers from *Tartary*, whoſe language ſeems to have been the baſis of that now ſpoken by the *Moguls*.

We come back to the *Indian* iſlands, and haſten to thoſe, which lie to the ſouth-eaſt of *Silán*, or *Taprobane*; for *Silán* itſelf, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the *Hindu* race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the weſt and to the ſouth, ſo as to include *Lancà*, or the equinoctial point of the *Indian* aſtronomers; nor can we reaſonably doubt, that the ſame enterpriſing family planted colonies in the other iſles of the ſame ocean from the *Malayadwípas*, which take their name from the mountain of *Malaya*, to the *Moluccas*, or *Mallicás*, and probably far beyond them. Captain FORREST aſſured me, that he found the iſle of *Bali* (a great name in the hiſtorical poems of *India*) chiefly peopled by *Hindus*, who worſhipped the ſame idols, which he had ſeen in this province; and that of *Madhurà* muſt have been ſo denominated, like the well known territory in the weſtern peninſula, by a nation, who underſtood *Sanſcrit*. We need not be ſurprized, that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to aſſign a rea-

ſon, why the *Jabadios*, or *Yavadwípa*, of PTOLEMY was rendered in the old *Latin* verſion the iſle of *Barley*; but we muſt admire the inquiſitive ſpirit and patient labour of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom nothing obſervable ſeems to have eſcaped: *Yava* means *barley* in *Sanſcrit*; and, though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied ſolely to *Java*, yet the great *French* geographer adduces very ſtrong reaſons for believing, that the ancients applied it to *Sumatra*. In whatever way the name of the laſt mentioned iſland may be written by *Europeans*, it is clearly an *Indian* word, implying *abundance* or *excellence*; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the beſt informed of our *Pandits*, know it by any ſuch appellation; eſpecially as it ſtill exhibits viſible traces of a primeval connexion with *India*: from the very accurate and intereſting account of it by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we diſcover, without any recourſe to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure *Sanſcrit* words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two poſitive rules concerning *ſureties* and *intereſt* appear to be taken word for word from the *Indian* legiſlators NA'RED and HA'RI'TA; and, what is yet more obſervable, that the ſyſtem of letters, uſed by the people of *Rejang* and *Lampún*, has

the ſame artificial order with the *Dèvanágarì*; but in every ſeries one letter is omitted, becauſe it is never found in the languages of thoſe iſlanders. If Mr. MARSDEN has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly preſume) that clear veſtiges of one ancient language are diſcernible in all the inſular dialects of the ſouthern ſeas from *Madagaſcar* to the *Philippines* and even to the remoteſt iſlands lately diſcovered, we may infer from the ſpecimens in his account of *Sumatra*, that the parent of them all was no other than the *Sanſcrit*; and with this obſervation, having nothing of conſequence to add on the *Chineſe* iſles or on thoſe of *Japan*, I leave the fartheſt eaſtern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries, now under the government of *China*, between the northern limits of *India*, and the extenſive domain of thoſe *Tartars*, who are ſtill independent.

That the people of *Pótyid* or *Tibet* were *Hindus*, who engrafted the hereſies of BUDDHA on their old mythological religion, we know from the reſearches of CASSIANO, who long had reſided among them; and whoſe diſquiſitions on their language and letters, their tenets and forms of worſhip, are inſerted by GIORGI in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the firſt to the laſt of nine

hundred rugged pages: their characters are apparently *Indian*, but their language has now the diſadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently *Sanſcrit* and polyſyllabick, it ſeems at preſent, from the influence of *Chineſe* manners, to conſiſt of monoſyllables, to form which, with ſome regard to grammatical derivation, it has become neceſſary to ſuppreſs in common diſcourſe many letters, which we ſee in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing a number of *Sanſcrit* words and phraſes, which in their ſpoken dialect are quite undiſtinguiſhable. The two engravings in GIORGI's book, from ſketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a ſyſtem of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often groſsly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confeſs, before their converſion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but ſuſpect, that the natives of *Eighúr*, *Tancút*, and *Khatà*, who had ſyſtems of letters and are even ſaid to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian*, family; and I apply the ſame remark to the nation, whom we call *Barmas*, but who are known to the *Pandits* by

the name of *Brahmachínas*, and ſeem to have been the *Brachmani* of PTOLEMY: they were probably rambling *Hindus*, who, deſcending from the northern parts of the eaſtern peninſula, carried with them the letters now uſed in *Ava*, which are no more than a round *Nágarì* derived from the ſquare characters, in which the *Páli*, or ſacred language of BUDDHA's prieſts in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanſcrit*, if we can depend on the teſtimony of M. DE LA LOUBERE; who, though always an acute obſerver, and in general a faithful reporter, of facts, is charged by CARPANIUS with having miſtaken the *Barma* for the *Páli* letters; and when, on his authority, I ſpoke of the *Bali* writing to a young chief of *Aracan*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeneſs, and aſſured me, that the *Páli* language was written by the prieſts in a much older character.

Let us now return eaſtward to the fartheſt *Aſiatick* dominions of *Ruſſia*, and, rounding them on the northeaſt, paſs directly to the *Hyperboreans*; who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Maſſagetæ*, and ſome other nations uſually conſidered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gothick*, that is of the *Hindu*, race; for I con-

fidently aſſume, that the *Goths* and the *Hindus* had originally the ſame language, gave the ſame appellations to the ſtars and planets, adored the ſame falſe deities, performed the ſame bloody ſacrifices, and profeſſed the ſame notions of rewards and puniſhments after death. I would not inſiſt with M. BAILLY, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely becauſe they have the word *ſhip* in their language; while the reſt of it appears wholly diſtinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms: the publiſhers of the Lord's Prayer in many languages repreſent the *Finniſh* and *Lapponian* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian* as totally different from them; but this muſt be an errour, if it be true, that a *Ruſſian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive ſeat between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Lapland* itſelf; and, ſince the *Huns* were confeſſedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gothick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that univerſally aſcribed to the various branches of *Sclavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never ſtudied, becauſe I could not hear of any original compoſitions in it, I can offer nothing deciſive; but am convinced, from the beſt information procurable in *Bengal*, that its baſis was ancient *Perſian* of the ſame *Indian* ſtock with the *Zend*, and that

it has been gradually changed ſince the time, when *Armenia* ceaſed to be a province of *Irán*: the letters, in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and, though the learned editor of the tract by CARPANIUS on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Páli* characters, yet, if they be not, as I ſhould rather imagine, derived from the *Pahlavì*, they are probably an invention of ſome learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. MOSES of *Khoren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the ſubject, has inſerted in his hiſtorical work a diſquiſition on the language of *Armenia*, from which we might collect ſome curious information, if the preſent occaſion required it; but to all the races of men, who inhabit the branches of *Caucaſus* and the northern limits of *Irán*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire for the ſake of liberty to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a ſeparate nation, muſt alſo form in the end a ſeparate language by agreeing on new words to expreſs new ideas; provided that the language, which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing and ſufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damſels are ſaid by STRABO to have ſacrificed in the temple of the goddeſs ANAITIS, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D,

or VENUS, of the old *Perſians*; and it is for many reaſons highly probable, that one and the ſame religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the iſlands, of *Aſia*, we come again to the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who firſt demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing ſomewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion as well as in language: the *Dorian*, *Ionian*, and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is univerſally agreed that they firſt paſſed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former diſcourſes; and, no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I ſhall only obſerve, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of myſterious worſhip in that country was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature perſonified, as we ſee her among the *Indians* in a thouſand forms and under a thouſand names. She was called in the *Phrygian* dialect MA, and repreſented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head: her myſteries (which ſeem to be alluded to in the *Moſaick* law) are ſolemnized at the autumnal equinox in theſe provinces,

where ſhe is named, in one of her characters, MA', is adored, in all of them, as the great Mother, is figured ſitting on a lion, and appears in ſome of her temples with a diadem or mitre of turrets: a drum is called *dindima* both in *Sanſcrit* and *Phrygian*; and the title of *Dindymene* ſeems rather derived from that word, than from the name of a mountain. The DIANA of *Epheſus* was manifeſtly the ſame goddeſs in the character of productive Nature; and the ASTARTE of the *Syrians* and *Phenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the ſame in another form: I may on the whole aſſure you, that the learned works of SELDEN and JABLONSKI, on the Gods of *Syria* and *Egypt*, would receive more illuſtration from the little *Sanſcrit* book, entitled *Chandi*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology, that are diſperſed in the whole compaſs of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebrew* literature. We are told, that the *Phenicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and aſſerted water to be the firſt of created things; nor can we doubt, that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, or the long ſtrip of land on the ſhore of the *Mediterranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *Indian* ſtock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which for the preſent we call *Arabian*: in all three the oldeſt religion was the *Aſſyrian*, as it is called by SELDEN, and the

Samaritan letters appear to have been the ſame at firſt with thoſe of *Phenice*; but the *Syriack* language, of which ample remains are preſerved, and the *Punick*, of which we have a clear ſpecimen in PLAUTUS and on monuments lately brought to light, were indiſputably of a *Chaldaick*, or *Arabick*, origin.

The ſeat of the firſt *Phenicians* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Aſia*; but we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a moſt extraordinary people, who eſcaped the attention, as BARROW obſerves more than once, of the diligent and inquiſitive HERODOTUS: I mean the people of *Judea*, whoſe language demonſtrates their affinity with the *Arabs*, but whoſe manners, literature, and hiſtory are wonderfully diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind. BARROW loads them with the ſevere, but juſt, epithets of malignant, unſocial, obſtinate, diſtruſtful, ſordid, changeable, turbulent; and deſcribes them as furiouſly zealous in ſuccouring their own countrymen, but implacably hoſtile to other nations; yet, with all the ſottiſh perverſeneſs, the ſtupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity of their character, they had the peculiar merit, among all races of men under heaven, of preſerving a rational and pure ſyſtem of devotion in the midſt of wild polytheiſm, inhuman or obſcene rites, and a dark labyrinth

of errours produced by ignorance and ſupported by intereſted fraud. Theological inquiries are no part of my preſent ſubject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true ſublimity, more exquiſite beauty, purer morality, more important hiſtory, and finer ſtrains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the ſame compaſs from all other books, that were ever compoſed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures conſiſt, are connected by a chain of compoſitions, which bear no reſemblance in form or ſtyle to any that can be produced from the ſtores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Perſian*, or even *Arabian*, learning: the antiquity of thoſe compoſitions no man doubts; and the unſtrained application of them to events long ſubſequent to their publication is a ſolid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and conſequently inſpired; but, if any thing be the abſolute excluſive property of each individual, it is his belief; and, I hope, I ſhould be one of the laſt men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to aſſume, what, I truſt, will be readily conceded, that the firſt *Hebrew* hiſtorian muſt be entitled, merely as ſuch, to an

equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil tranſactions, with any other hiſtorian of antiquity: how far that moſt ancient writer confirms the reſult of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propoſe to ſhow at our next anniverſary meeting; when, after an approach to demonſtration, in the ſtrict method of the old analyſis, I ſhall reſume the whole argument conciſely and ſynthetically; and ſhall then have condenſed in ſeven diſcourſes a maſs of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into ſeven large volumes with no other trouble than that of holding the pen; but (to borrow a turn of expreſſion from one of our poets) "for what I "have produced, I claim only your indulgence; "it is for what I have ſuppreſſed, that I am "entitled to your thanks."

DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

ON

THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVERED 23 FEBRUARY, 1792,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with ſo much indulgence to my diſcourſes on the five *Aſiatick* nations, and on the various tribes eſtabliſhed along their ſeveral borders or interſperſed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myſelf with an aſſurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families, from which thoſe nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courſes, which they may be ſuppoſed to have taken toward the countries, in which we find them ſettled at the dawn of all genuine hiſtory.

Let us begin with a ſhort review of the propoſitions, to which we have gradually been led, and ſeparate ſuch as are morally certain, from ſuch as are only probable: that the firſt race of

Perſians and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old *Egyptians* or *Ethiops*, originally ſpoke the ſame language and profeſſed the ſame popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of inconteſtable proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Aſſyrians*, or ſecond *Perſian* race, the people who ſpoke *Syriack*, and a numerous tribe of *Abyſſinians*, uſed one primitive dialect wholly diſtinct from the idiom juſt mentioned, is, I believe, undiſputed, and, I am ſure, indiſputable; but that the ſettlers in *China* and *Japan* had a common origin with the *Hindus*, is no more than highly probable; and, that all the *Tartars*, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third ſeparate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plauſibly conjectured, but cannot, for the reaſons alledged in a former eſſay, be perſpicuouſly ſhown, and for the preſent therefore muſt be merely aſſumed. Could theſe facts be verified by the beſt attainable evidence, it would not, I preſume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of ſhoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by ſuch intermixtures of them, as, in a courſe of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without heſitation the aphoriſm of LINNÆUS, that "in the beginning GOD

" created one pair only of every living ſpecies, " which has a diverſity of ſex;" but, ſince that incomparable naturaliſt argues principally from the wonderful diffuſion of vegetables, and from an hypotheſis, that the water on this globe has been continually ſubſiding, I venture to produce a ſhorter and cloſer argument in ſupport of his doctrine. That *Nature*, of which ſimplicity appears a diſtinguiſhing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philoſophy; and againſt thoſe, who deny maxims, we cannot diſpute; but *it is vain* and ſuperfluous *to do by many means what may be done by fewer*, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the ſchools of philoſophers: *we muſt not*, therefore, ſays our great NEWTON, *admit more cauſes of natural things, than thoſe, which are true, and ſufficiently account for natural phenomena*; but it is true, that one pair *at leaſt* of every living ſpecies muſt at firſt have been created; and that one human pair was ſufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no conſiderable length (on the very moderate ſuppoſition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of anceſtors left on an average two children, and each of them two more), is evident from the rapid increaſe of numbers in geometrical progreſſion, ſo well known to thoſe, who have ever taken the trouble to ſum a ſeries

of as many terms, as they ſuppoſe generations of men in two or three thouſand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine author) created but one pair of our ſpecies; yet, had it not been (among other reaſons) for the devaſtations, which hiſtory has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and peſtilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently aſſume, of one natural ſpecies, they muſt all have proceeded from one pair; and if perfect juſtice be, as it is moſt indubitably, an eſſential attribute of GOD, that pair muſt have been gifted with ſufficient wiſdom and ſtrength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intruſted with freedom of will to be vicious and conſequently degraded: whatever might be their option, they muſt people in time the region where they firſt were eſtabliſhed, and their numerous deſcendants muſt neceſſarily ſeek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them; they would of courſe migrate in ſeparate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both ſimple and complex; natural affection would unite them at firſt, and a ſenſe of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of

ſocial union in the abſence of publick honour and juſtice, for which in evil times it is a general ſubſtitute, would combine them at length in communities more or leſs regular; laws would be propoſed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole; and governments would be variouſly arranged for the happineſs or miſery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wiſdom, or depravity and folly; ſo that, in leſs than three thouſand years, the world would exhibit the ſame appearances, which we may actually obſerve on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impoſtor.

On that part of it, to which our united reſearches are generally confined, we ſee *five* races of men peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, becauſe we can diſcover no more, that eſſentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteriſticks: now thoſe three races, how variouſly ſoever they may at preſent be diſperſed and intermixed, muſt (if the preceding concluſions be juſtly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem propoſed for ſolution. Suppoſe it ſolved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you pleaſe, be *Irân*. The three primitive languages, therefore, muſt at firſt have

been concentrated in *Irân*, and there only in fact we ſee traces of them in the earlieſt hiſtorical age; but, for the ſake of greater preciſion, conceive the whole empire of *Irân*, with all its mountains and valleys, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminiſhed; the firſt winding courſes, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the ſame time, will be little right lines, but without interſections, becauſe thoſe courſes could not have thwarted and croſſed one another: if then you conſider the ſeats of all the migrating nations as points in a ſurrounding figure, you will perceive, that the ſeveral rays, diverging from *Irân*, may be drawn to them without any interſection; but this will not happen, if you aſſume as a centre *Arabia*, or *Egypt*; *India*, *Tartary*, or *China*: it follows, that *Irân*, or *Perſia* (I contend for *the meaning, not the name)*, was the central country, which we ſought. This mode of reaſoning I have adopted, not from any affectation (as you will do me the juſtice to believe) of a ſcientifick diction, but for the ſake of conciſeneſs and variety, and from a wiſh to avoid repetitions; the ſubſtance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the cloſe of another diſcourſe; nor does the argument in any form riſe to demonſtration, which the queſtion by no means admits: it amounts, however, to ſuch a proof,

grounded on written evidence and credible teſtimony, as all mankind hold ſufficient for deciſions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of *Aſia*, and conſequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, ſprang from three branches of one ſtem: and that thoſe branches have ſhot into their preſent ſtate of luxuriance in a period comparatively ſhort, is apparent from a fact univerſally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and ſtates raiſed, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve or at moſt fifteen or ſixteen centuries before the birth of CHRIST, and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that ſeven hundred or a thouſand years would have been fully adequate to the ſuppoſed propagation, diffuſion and eſtabliſhment of the human race.

The moſt ancient hiſtory of that race, and the oldeſt compoſition perhaps in the world, is a work in *Hebrew*, which we may ſuppoſe at firſt, for the ſake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity, that the reſearches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is aſcribed to MUSAH; for ſo he writes his own name, which,

after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into MOSES; and, though it was manifeſtly his object to give an hiſtorical account of a ſingle family, he has introduced it with a ſhort view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After deſcribing with awful ſublimity the creation of this univerſe, he aſſerts, that one pair of every animal ſpecies was called from nothing into exiſtence; that the human pair were ſtrong enough to be happy, but free to be miſerable; that, from deluſion and temerity, they diſobeyed their ſupreme benefactor, whoſe goodneſs could not pardon them conſiſtently with his juſtice; and that they received a puniſhment adequate to their diſobedience, but ſoftened by a myſterious promiſe to be accompliſhed in their deſcendants. We cannot but believe, on the ſuppoſition juſt made of a hiſtory uninſpired, that theſe facts were delivered by tradition from the firſt pair, and related by MOSES in a figurative ſtyle; not in that ſort of allegory, which rhetoricians deſcribe as a mere aſſemblage of metaphors, but in the ſymbolical mode of writing adopted by eaſtern ſages, to embelliſh and dignify hiſtorical truth; and, if this were a time for ſuch illuſtrations, we might produce the ſame account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expreſſed by ſymbols very nearly ſimilar, from the *Puránas*

themſelves, and even from the *Vèda*, which appears to ſtand next in antiquity to the five books of MOSES.

The ſketch of antediluvian hiſtory, in which we find many dark paſſages, is followed by the narrative of a *deluge*, which deſtroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an hiſtorical fact admitted as true by every nation, to whoſe literature we have acceſs, and particularly by the ancient *Hindus*, who have allotted an entire *Puráńa* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as uſual, in ſymbols or allegories. I concur moſt heartily with thoſe, who inſiſt, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in hiſtory ſeems repugnant to the courſe of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the ſtronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it; but we hear without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waſte by hurricanes, and whole iſlands depopulated by earthquakes: if then we look at the firmament ſprinkled with innumerable ſtars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every ſtar is a ſun, attracting, like ours, a ſyſtem of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, ſoaring hand in hand with ſound reaſon, waft us beyond the viſibl ſphere into regions of immenſity, diſcloſing other celeſtial expanſes and other ſyſtems of ſuns and worlds on all ſides

without number or end, we cannot but conſider the ſubmerſion of our little ſpheroïd as an infinitely leſs event in reſpect of the immeaſureable univerſe, than the deſtruction of a city or an iſle in reſpect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be ſuppoſed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of ſo ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the ſuppoſed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on thoſe proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Moſaick* hiſtory; I mean the firſt propagation and early diſperſion of mankind *in ſeparate families* to ſeparate places of reſidence.

Three ſons of the juſt and virtuous man, whoſe lineage was preſerved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large diviſions variouſly ſubdivided: the children of YA'FET ſeem, from the traces of *Sklavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have ſpread themſelves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*; the colonies, formed by the ſons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly ſimultaneous; and, among thoſe of the latter branch, we find ſo many names inconteſtably preſerved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot

heſitate in pronouncing them the ſame people, whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch, the moſt powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of CUSH, MISR, and RAMA (names remaining unchanged in *Sanſcrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*), were, in all probability, the race, which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name, that may ſeem more proper and comprehenſive.

The general introduction to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory cloſes with a very conciſe and obſcure account of a preſumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a ſplendid city and raiſe a fabrick of immenſe height, independently of the divine aid, and, it ſhould ſeem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at firſt view inadequate to the purpoſe, but ending in violent diſſention among the projectors, and in the ultimate ſeparation of them: this event alſo ſeems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Puránas*; and it will be proved, I truſt, on ſome future occaſion, that *the lion burſting from a pillar to deſtroy a blaſpheming giant*, and *the dwarf, who beguiled and held in deriſion* the magnificent BELI, are one and the ſame ſtory related in a ſymbolical ſtyle.

Now theſe primeval events are deſcribed as

having happened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucaſus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Irân*; for, though moſt of the *Moſaick* names have been conſiderably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we ſtill find *Harrân* in *Meſopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the ſite of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding ſuppoſition, that the firſt eleven chapters of the book, which it is thought proper to call *Geneſis*, are merely a preface to the oldeſt civil hiſtory now extant, we ſee the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reaſoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the *connection* of the *Moſaick* hiſtory with that of the Goſpel by a chain of ſublime predictions unqueſtionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, muſt induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and conſequently true in every ſubſtantial part of it, though poſſibly expreſſed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the moſt pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cauſe of revealed religion. If MOSES then was endued with ſupernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but abſolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Irân*, as from a centre, whence they

migrated at firſt in three great colonies; and that thoſe three branches grew from a common ſtock, which had been miraculouſly preſerved in a general convulſion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the ſame concluſion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of thoſe families, the moſt ingenious and enterpriſing of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various ſhoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I ſhall add but little to my former obſervations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice peruſed with increaſed attention and pleaſure, though not with perfect acquieſcence in the other leſs important parts of his plauſible ſyſtem. The ſum of his argument ſeems reducible to three heads. Firſt; "if the deluge "really happened at the time recorded by "MOSES, thoſe nations, whoſe monuments are "preſerved or whoſe writings are acceſſible, "muſt have retained memorials of an event ſo "ſtupendous and comparatively ſo recent; but "in fact they have retained ſuch memorials:" this reaſoning ſeems juſt, and the fact is true beyond controverſy: Secondly; "thoſe memorials "were expreſſed by the race of HAM, before "the uſe of letters, in rude ſculpture or paint-"ing, and moſtly in ſymbolical figures of the

" *ark*, the eight perſons concealed in it, and the " birds, which firſt were diſmiſſed from it: this " fact is probable, but, I think, not ſufficiently " aſcertained." Thirdly; " all ancient Mytho- " logy (except what was purely *Sabian)* had " its primary ſource in thoſe various ſymbols " miſunderſtood; ſo that ancient Mythology " ſtands now in the place of ſymbolical ſculpture " or painting, and muſt be explained on the " ſame principles, on which we ſhould begin to " decypher the originals, if they now exiſted:" this part of the ſyſtem is, in my opinion, carried too far; nor can I perſuade myſelf (to give one inſtance out of many) that the beautiful allegory of CUPID and PSYCHE had the remoteſt alluſion to the deluge, or that HYMEN ſignified the *veil*, which covered the patriarch and his family. Theſe propoſitions, however, are ſupported with great ingenuity and ſolid erudition, but, unprofitably for the argument, and unfortunately, perhaps, for the fame of the work itſelf, recourſe is had to etymological conjecture, than which no mode of reaſoning is in general weaker or more deluſive. He, who profeſſes to derive the words of any one language from thoſe of another, muſt expoſe himſelf to the danger of perpetual errours, unleſs he be perfectly acquainted with both; yet my reſpectable friend, though eminently ſkilled in the idioms of *Greece* and *Rome*, has no ſort

of acquaintance with any *Aſiatick* dialect, except *Hebrew*; and he has conſequently made miſtakes, which every learner of *Arabick* and *Perſian* muſt inſtantly detect. Among *fifty* radical words (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram* being included), *eighteen* are purely of *Arabian* origin, *twelve* merely *Indian*, and *ſeventeen* both *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick*, but in ſenſes totally different; while *two* are *Greek* only, and one *Egyptian*, or barbarous: if it be urged, that thoſe *radicals* (which ought ſurely to have concluded, inſtead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are precious traces of the primitive language, from which all others were derived, or to which at leaſt they were ſubſequent, I can only declare my belief, that the language of NOAH is loſt irretrievably, and aſſure you, that after a diligent ſearch, I cannot find a ſingle word uſed in common by the *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Tartar* families, before the intermixture of dialects occaſioned by *Mohammedan* conqueſts. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and ſome hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly uſed promiſcuouſly by moſt nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologer, to enter my proteſt againſt conjectural etymology in hiſtorical reſearches, and principally againſt the licentiouſneſs of etymologiſts in tranſpoſing and inſerting letters, in ſubſtituting at pleaſure

any conſonant for another of the ſame order, and in totally diſregarding the vowels: for ſuch permutations few radical words would be more convenient than CUS or CUSH, ſince, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it inſtantly becomes *coot*, *gooſe*, and, by tranſpoſition, *duck*, all water-birds, and *evidently* ſymbolical; it next is the *goat* worſhipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metatheſis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of SIRIUS, or, more obviouſly, a *cat*, not the domeſtick animal, but a ſort of ſhip, and, the *Catos*, or great ſea-fiſh, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to inſult an author, whom I reſpect and eſteem; but no conſideration ſhould induce me to aſſiſt by my ſilence in the diffuſion of errour; and I contend, that almoſt any word or nation might be derived from any other, if ſuch licences, as I am oppoſing, were permitted in etymological hiſtories: when we find, indeed, the ſame words, letter for letter, and in a ſenſe preciſely the ſame, in different languages, we can ſcarce heſitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we ſee CUSH or CUS (for the *Sanſcrit* name alſo is variouſly pronounced) among the ſons of BRAHMA', that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preſerved in the *Rámáyan*; when we meet with

his name again in the family of RA'MA; when we know, that the name is venerated in the higheſt degree, and given to a ſacred graſs, deſcribed as a *Poa* by KOENIG, which is uſed with a thouſand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by MENU to form the ſacrificial zone of the *Bráhmans*, and ſolemnly declared in the *Véda* to have ſprung up ſoon after the *deluge*, whence the *Pauránicks* conſider it as *the briſtly hair of the boar which ſupported the globe*; when we add, that one of the ſeven *dwípas*, or great peninſulas of this earth, has the ſame appellation, we can hardly doubt that the CUSH of MOSES and VA'LMIC was the ſame perſonage and an anceſtor of the *Indian* race.

From the teſtimonies adduced in the ſix laſt annual diſcourſes, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the preſent occaſion, it ſeems to follow, that the only human family after the flood eſtabliſhed themſelves in the northern parts of *Irán*; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three diſtinct branches, each retaining little at firſt, and loſing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing ſeverally on new expreſſions for new ideas; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many ſcattered ſhoots over the north of *Europe* and *Aſia*, diffuſing themſelves as far as the weſtern and eaſtern ſeas, and, at

length in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both: that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no uſe of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variouſly ramified; that, ſecondly, the children of HAM, who founded in *Iràn* itſelf the monarchy of the firſt *Chaldeans*, invented letters, obſerved and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of *four hundred and thirty-two thouſand years*, or an *hundred and twenty* repetitions of the *ſaros*, and contrived the old ſyſtem of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their ſages and lawgivers; that they were diſperſed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA ſettled in *Africk* and *India*; while ſome of them, having improved the art of ſailing, paſſed from *Egypt*, *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, into *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they ſupplanted ſome tribes, and united themſelves with others; whilſt a ſwarm from the ſame hive moved by a northerly courſe into *Scandinavia*, and another, by the head of the *Oxus*, and through the paſſes of *Imaus*, into *Caſhghar* and *Eighúr*, *Khatá* and *Khoten*, as far as the territories of *Chín* and *Tancút*, where letters have been uſed and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreaſonable

to believe, that ſome of them found their way from the eaſtern iſles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were diſcovered of rude literature and Mythology analogous to thoſe of *Egypt* and *India*; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Aſſyrians* under CAYUMERS, other migrations took place, eſpecially into *India*, while the reſt of SHEM's progeny, ſome of whom had before ſettled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole *Arabian* peninſula, preſſing cloſe on the nations of *Syria* and *Phenice*; that, laſtly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent ſpirit and a roving diſpoſition, who diſdained ſubordination and wandered in ſeparate clans, till they ſettled in diſtant iſles or in deſerts and mountainous regions; that, on the whole, ſome colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that ſtates and empires could ſcarce have aſſumed a regular form, till fifteen or ſixteen hundred years before the *Chriſtian* epoch, and that, for the firſt thouſand years of that period, we have no hiſtory unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently diſtinguiſhed, nation deſcended from ABRAHAM.

My deſign, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progreſs of the five principal nations, who have peopled *Aſia*, and of whom there were

conſiderable remains in their ſeveral countries at the time of MUHAMMED'S birth, is now accompliſhed; ſuccinctly, from the nature of theſe eſſays; imperfectly, from the darkneſs of the ſubject and ſcantineſs of my materials, but clearly and comprehenſively enough to form a baſis for ſubſequent reſearches: you have ſeen, as diſtinctly as I am able to ſhow, *who* thoſe nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved toward their final ſtations; and, in my future annual diſcourſes, I propoſe to enlarge on the *particular advantages* to our country and to mankind, which may reſult from our ſedulous and united inquiries into the hiſtory, ſcience, and arts, of theſe *Aſiatick* regions, eſpecially of the *Britiſh* dominions in *India*, which we may conſider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true intereſts; and we ſhall concur, I truſt, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whoſe manly happineſs is our duty and will of courſe be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor ſecurely free without rational knowledge.

THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 28 FEBRUARY, 1793.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

ON ASIATICK HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL.

BEFORE our entrance, gentlemen, into the diſquiſition, promiſed at the cloſe of my ninth annual diſcourſe, on the *particular advantages*, which may be derived from our concurrent reſearches in *Aſia*, it ſeems neceſſary to fix with preciſion the ſenſe, in which we mean to ſpeak of *advantage* or *utility:* now, as we have deſcribed the five *Aſiatick* regions on their largeſt ſcale, and have expanded our conceptions in proportion to the magnitude of that wide field, we ſhould uſe thoſe words, which comprehend the fruit of all our inquiries, in their moſt extenſive acceptation; including not only the ſolid conveniences and comforts of ſocial life, but its elegances and innocent pleaſures, and even the gratification of a natural and laudable curioſity; for, though labour be clearly the lot of man in

this world, yet, in the midſt of his moſt active exertions, he cannot but feel the ſubſtantial benefit of every liberal amuſement, which may lull his paſſions to reſt, and afford him a ſort of repoſe without the pain of total inaction, and the real uſefulneſs of every purſuit, which may enlarge and diverſify his ideas, without interfering with the principal objects of his civil ſtation or economical duties; nor ſhould we wholly exclude even the trivial and worldly ſenſe of *utility*, which too many conſider as merely ſynonymous with *lucre*, but ſhould reckon among uſeful objects thoſe practical, and by no means illiberal, arts, which may eventually conduce both to national and to private emolument. With a view then to *advantages* thus explained, let us examine every point in the whole circle of arts and ſciences, according to the received order of their dependence on the faculties of the mind, their mutual connexion, and the different ſubjects, with which they are converſant: our inquiries indeed, of which Nature and Man are the primary objects, muſt of courſe be chiefly *Hiſtorical*; but, ſince we propoſe to inveſtigate the *actions* of the ſeveral *Aſiatick* nations, together with their reſpective progreſs in *ſcience* and *art*, we may arrange our inveſtigations under the ſame three heads, to which our *European* analyſts have ingeniouſly reduced all the branches

of human knowledge; and my preſent addreſs to the ſociety ſhall be confined to hiſtory, civil and natural, or the obſervation and remembrance of *mere facts*, independently of *ratiocination*, which belongs to philoſophy, or of *imitations* and *ſubſtitutions*, which are the province of art.

Were a ſuperior created intelligence to delineate a map of general knowledge (excluſively of that ſublime and ſtupendous theology, which himſelf could only hope humbly to know by an infinite approximation) he would probably begin by tracing with NEWTON the ſyſtem of the univerſe, in which he would aſſign the true place to our little globe; and, having enumerated its various inhabitants, contents, and productions, would proceed to man in his natural ſtation among animals, exhibiting a detail of all the knowledge attained or attainable by the human race; and thus obſerving, perhaps, the ſame order, in which he had before deſcribed other beings in other inhabited worlds: but, though BACON ſeems to have had a ſimilar reaſon for placing the hiſtory of Nature before that of Man, or the whole before one of its parts, yet, conſiſtently with our chief object already mentioned, we may properly begin with the *civil hiſtory* of the five *Aſiatick* nations, which neceſſarily compriſes their Geography, or a de-

ſcription of the *places*, where they have acted, and their aſtronomy, which may enable us to fix with ſome accuracy the *time* of their actions: we ſhall thence be led to the hiſtory of ſuch other *animals*, of ſuch *minerals*, and of ſuch *vegetables*, as they may be ſuppoſed to have found in their ſeveral migrations and ſettlements, and ſhall end with the *uſes* to which they have applied, or may apply, the rich aſſemblage of natural ſubſtances.

I. In the firſt place, we cannot ſurely deem it an inconſiderable advantage, that all our hiſtorical reſearches have confirmed the *Moſaick* accounts of the primitive world; and our teſtimony on that ſubject ought to have the greater weight, becauſe, if the reſult of our obſervations had been totally different, we ſhould nevertheleſs have publiſhed them, not indeed with equal pleaſure, but with equal confidence; for *Truth is mighty, and*, whatever be its conſequences, *muſt always prevail:* but, independently of our intereſt in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we could ſcarce gratify our minds with a more uſeful and rational entertainment, than the contemplation of thoſe wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and ſtates, which have happened within little more than four thouſand years; revolutions, almoſt as fully demonſtrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the

ſtructure of the univerſe and the final cauſes, which are diſcernible in its whole extent and even in its minuteſt parts. Figure to your imaginations a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a ſucceſſion of crouded ſcenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courſes from one region, and, in about four centuries, eſtabliſh very diſtant governments and various modes of ſociety: *Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latians, Chineſe, Peruvians, Mexicans*, all ſprung from the ſame immediate ſtem, appear to ſtart nearly at one time, and occupy at length thoſe countries, to which they have given, or from which they have derived, their names: in twelve or thirteen hundred years more the *Greeks* overrun the land of their forefathers, invade *India*, conquer *Egypt*, and aim at univerſal dominion; but the *Romans* appropriate to themſelves the whole empire of *Greece*, and carry their arms into *Britain*, of which they ſpeak with haughty contempt: the *Goths*, in the fulneſs of time, break to pieces the unwieldly *Coloſſus* of *Roman* power, and ſeize on the whole of *Britain*, except its wild mountains; but even thoſe wilds become ſubject to other invaders of the ſame *Gothick* lineage: during all theſe tranſactions, the *Arabs* poſſeſs both coaſts of the Red Sea, ſubdue the old ſeat of their firſt progenitors, and

extend their conqueſts on one ſide, through *Africk*, into *Europe* itſelf; on another, beyond the borders of *India*, part of which they annex to their flouriſhing empire: in the ſame interval the *Tartars*, widely diffuſed over the reſt of the globe, ſwarm in the north-eaſt, whence they ruſh to complete the reduction of CONSTANTINE'S beautiful domains, to ſubjugate *China*, to raiſe in theſe *Indian* realms a dynaſty ſplendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other families, the devoted regions of *Irân*: by this time the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians*, with many races of adventurers variouſly intermixed, have peopled the continent and iſles of *America*, which the *Spaniards*, having reſtored their old government in *Europe*, diſcover and in part overcome: but a colony from *Britain*, of which CICERO ignorantly declared, that *it contained nothing valuable*, obtain the poſſeſſion, and finally the ſovereign dominion, of extenſive *American* diſtricts; whilſt other *Britiſh* ſubjects acquire a ſubordinate empire in the fineſt provinces of *India*, which the victorious troops of ALEXANDER were unwilling to attack. This outline of human tranſactions, as far as it includes the limits of *Aſia*, we can only hope to fill up, to ſtrengthen, and to colour, by the help of *Aſiatick* literature; for in hiſtory, as in law, we muſt not follow ſtreams, when we may inveſtigate foun-

tains, nor admit any ſecondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable: I ſhould, nevertheleſs, make a bad return for your indulgent attention, were I to repeat a dry liſt of all the *Muſelman* hiſtorians, whoſe works are preſerved in *Arabick*, *Perſian*, and *Turkiſh*, or expatiate on the hiſtories and medals of *China* and *Japan*, which may in time be acceſſible to members of our Society, and from which alone we can expect information concerning the ancient ſtate of the *Tartars*; but on the hiſtory of *India*, which we naturally conſider as the centre of our enquiries, it may not be ſuperfluous to preſent you with a few particular obſervations.

Our knowledge of civil *Aſiatick* hiſtory (I always except that of the *Hebrews*) exhibits a ſhort evening twilight in the venerable introduction to the firſt book of MOSES, followed by a gloomy night, in which different watches are faintly diſcernible, and at length we ſee a dawn ſucceeded by a ſunriſe more or leſs early according to the diverſity of regions. That no *Hindu* nation, but the *Caſhmirians*, have left us regular hiſtories in their ancient language, we muſt ever lament; but from *Sanſcrit* literature, which our country has the honour of having unveiled, we may ſtill collect ſome rays of hiſtorical truth, though time and a ſeries of revolutions have obſcured that light which we might reaſonably

have expected from ſo diligent and ingenious a people. The numerous *Puránas* and *Itihásas*, or poems mythological and heroick, are completely in our power; and from them we may recover ſome diſfigured, but valuable, pictures of ancient manners and governments; while the popular *tales* of the *Hindus*, in proſe and in verſe, contain fragments of hiſtory; and even in their *dramas* we may find as many real characters and events, as a future age might find in our own plays, if all hiſtories of *England* were, like thoſe of *India*, to be irrecoverably loſt: for example, a moſt beautiful poem by SO'MADE'VA, compriſing a very long chain of inſtructive and agreeable ſtories, begins with the famed revolution at *Pátaliputra* by the murder of King NANDA, with his eight ſons, and the uſurpation of CHANDRAGUPTA; and the ſame revolution is the ſubject of a tragedy in *Sanſcrit*, entitled the Coronation of CHANDRA, the abbreviated name of that able and adventurous uſurper. From theſe, once concealed but now acceſſible, compoſitions, we are enabled to exhibit a more accurate ſketch of old *Indian* hiſtory than the world has yet ſeen, eſpecially with the aid of well-atteſted obſervations on the places of the colures. It is now clearly proved, that the firſt *Purána* contains an account of the deluge, between which and the *Mohammedan* conqueſts

the hiſtory of genuine *Hindu* government muſt of courſe be comprehended; but we know from an arrangement of the ſeaſons in the aſtronomical work of PARA'SARA, that the war of the PA'NDAVAS could not have happened earlier than the cloſe of the twelfth century before CHRIST, and SELEUCUS muſt, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war: now the age of VICRAMA'DITYA is given; and, if we can fix on an *Indian* prince, contemporary with SELEUCUS, we ſhall have three given points in the line of time between RAMA, or the firſt *Indian* colony, and CHANDRABI'JA, the laſt *Hindu* monarch, who reigned in *Behar*; ſo that only eight hundred or a thouſand years will remain almoſt wholly dark; and they muſt have been employed in raiſing empires or ſtates, in framing laws, in improving languages and arts, and in obſerving the apparent motions of the celeſtial bodies. A *Sanſcrit* hiſtory of the celebrated VICRAMA'DITYA was inſpected at *Banares* by a *Pandit*, who would not have deceived me, and could not himſelf have been deceived; but the owner of the book is dead and his family diſperſed; nor have my friends in that city been able, with all their exertions, to procure a copy of it: as to the *Mogul* conqueſts, with which modern *Indian* hiſtory begins, we have ample accounts of them in *Perſian*, from

ALI of *Yezd* and the tranſlations of *Turkiſh* books compoſed even by ſome of the conquerors, to GHULA'M HUSAIN, whom many of us perſonally know, and whoſe impartiality deſerves the higheſt applauſe, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary hiſtorians, who, to uſe his own phraſe in a letter to myſelf, may, like him, *conſider plain truth as the beauty of hiſtorical compoſition.* From all theſe materials, and from theſe alone, a perfect hiſtory of *India* (if a mere compilation, however elegant, could deſerve ſuch a title) might be collected by any ſtudious man, who had a competent knowledge of *Sanſcrit*, *Perſian*, and *Arabick*; but, even in the work of a writer ſo qualified, we could only give abſolute credence to the general outline; for, while the abſtract *ſciences* are all truth, and the fine *arts* all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in the *details of hiſtory*, truth and fiction are ſo blended as to be ſcarce diſtinguiſhable.

The practical uſe of hiſtory, in affording particular *examples* of civil and military wiſdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but *principles* of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may ſerve as a leſſon to nations and an admonition to ſovereigns: a deſire, indeed, of knowing paſt events, while the future cannot be known, and

a view of the preſent gives often more pain than delight, ſeems natural to the human mind; and a happy propenſity would it be, if every reader of hiſtory would open his eyes to ſome very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the conſtant effect of *deſpotiſm* in benumbing and debaſing all thoſe faculties, which diſtinguiſh men from the herd, that grazes; and to that cauſe he would impute the decided inferiority of moſt *Aſiatick* nations, ancient and modern, to thoſe in *Europe*, who are bleſt with happier governments; he would ſee the *Arabs* riſing to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold anceſtors, and ſinking to miſery from the moment, when thoſe maxims were abandoned. On the other hand he would obſerve with regret, that ſuch *republican* governments as tend to produce virtue and happineſs, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally ſucceeded by *Oligarchies*, which no good man would wiſh to be durable. He would then, like the king of *Lydia*, remember SOLON, the wiſeſt, braveſt, and moſt accompliſhed of men, who aſſerts, in four nervous lines, that, " as *hail and ſnow*, which mar the labours of " huſbandmen, *proceed from* elevated *clouds*, *and*, " as *the* deſtructive *thunderbolt follows the bril-* " *liant flaſh*, *thus is a free ſtate ruined by men*

" *exalted* in power and ſplendid in wealth, *while* " *the people, from groſs ignorance*, chuſe rather " to *become the ſlaves of one tyrant*, that they " may eſcape from the domination of many, " than to preſerve themſelves from tyranny of " any kind by their union and their virtues." Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both deſerve permanence and enjoy it, and ſince changes even from the worſt to the beſt, are always attended with much temporary miſchief, he would fix on our *Britiſh* conſtitution (I mean our *publick law*, not the actual *ſtate of things* in any given period) as the beſt form ever eſtabliſhed, though we can only make diſtant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In theſe *Indian* territories, which providence has thrown into the arms of *Britain* for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their hiſtories may poſſibly ſuggeſt hints for their proſperity, while our country derives eſſential benefit from the diligence of a placid and ſubmiſſive people, who multiply with ſuch increaſe, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorſhip out of *twenty-four*, and that by no means the largeſt or beſt cultivated (I mean *Criſhna-nagar)* there have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a *million* and *three hundred thouſand*

native inhabitants; whence it ſhould ſeem, that in all *India* there cannot now be fewer than *thirty millions* of black *Britiſh* ſubjects.

Let us proceed to *geography* and *chronology*, without which hiſtory would be no certain guide, but would reſemble a kindled vapour without either a ſettled place or a ſteady light. For a reaſon before intimated I ſhall not name the various coſmographical books, which are extant in *Arabick* and *Perſian*, nor give an account of thoſe, which the *Turks* have beautifully printed in their own improved language, but ſhall expatiate a little on the geography and aſtronomy of *India*; having firſt obſerved generally, that all the *Aſiatick* nations muſt be far better acquainted with their ſeveral countries than mere *European* ſcholars and travellers; that, conſequently, we muſt learn their geography from their own writings; and that, by collating many copies of the ſame work, we may correct the blunders of tranſcribers in tables, names, and deſcriptions.

Geography, aſtronomy, and chronology have, in this part of *Aſia*, ſhared the fate of authentick hiſtory, and, like that, have been ſo maſked and bedecked in the fantaſtick robes of mythology and metaphor, that the real ſyſtem of *Indian* philoſophers and mathematicians can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed: an accurate knowledge of *Sanſcrit* and a confidential intercourſe with learned

Brâhmens, are the only means of ſeparating truth from fable; and we may expect the moſt important diſcoveries from two of our members; concerning whom it may be ſafely aſſerted, that, if our ſociety ſhould have produced no other advantage than the invitation given to them for the publick diſplay of their talents, we ſhould have a claim to the thanks of our country and of all *Europe*. Lieutenant WILFORD has exhibited an intereſting ſpecimen of the geographical knowledge deducible from the *Purânas*, and will in time preſent you with ſo complete a treatiſe on the ancient world known to the *Hindus*, that the light acquired by the *Greeks* will appear but a glimmering in compariſon of that, which He will diffuſe; while Mr. DAVIS, who has given us a diſtinct idea of *Indian* computations and cycles, and aſcertained the place of the colures at a time of great importance in hiſtory, will hereafter diſcloſe the ſyſtems of *Hindu* aſtronomers from NA'RED and PARA'SAR to MEYA, VARA'HAMIHIR, and BHA'SCAR, and will ſoon, I truſt, lay before you a perfect delineation of all the *Indian* aſteriſms in both hemiſpheres, where you will perceive ſo ſtrong a general reſemblance to the conſtellations of the *Greeks*, as to prove that the two ſyſtems were originally one and the ſame, yet with ſuch a diverſity in parts, as to ſhow incon-

teſtably, that neither ſyſtem was copied from the other; whence it will follow, that they *muſt* have had ſome common ſource.

The juriſprudence of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* being the field, which I have choſen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I ſhould greatly enlarge your collection of hiſtorical knowledge; but I may be able to offer you ſome occaſional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a diſcovery, which accident threw in my way; though my proofs muſt be reſerved for an eſſay, which I have deſtined for the fourth volume of your Tranſactions. To fix the ſituation of that *Palibothra* (for there may have been ſeveral of the name), which was viſited and deſcribed by MEGASTHENES had always appeared a very difficult problem; for, though it could not have been *Prayága*, where no ancient metropolis ever ſtood, nor *Cányacubja*, which has no epithet at all reſembling the word uſed by the *Greeks*, nor *Gaur*, otherwiſe called *Lacſhmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pátaliputra*, though names and moſt circumſtances nearly correſpond, becauſe that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the ſcite of *Patna*, while *Palibothra* ſtood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erannoboas*, which

the accurate M. D'ANVILLE had pronounced to be the *Yamunà:* but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a claſſical *Sanſcrit* book, near two thouſand years old, that *Hiranyabáhu*, or *golden-armed*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Erannoboas*, or the river *with a lovely murmur*, was in fact another name for the *Sóna* itſelf, though MEGASTHENES, from ignorance or inattention, has named them ſeparately. This diſcovery led to another of greater moment; for CHANDRAGUPTA, who, from a military adventurer, became, like SANDRACOTTUS, the ſovereign of upper *Hinduſtàn*, actually fixed the ſeat of his empire at *Pataliputra*, where he received ambaſſadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very SANDRACOTTUS, who concluded a treaty with SELEUCUS NICATOR; ſo that we have ſolved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers conſider the twelve and three hundredth years before CHRIST as two certain epochs between RA'MA, who conquered *Silán* a few centuries after the flood, and VICRAMA'DITYA, who died at *Ujjayinì* fifty-ſeven years before the beginning of our era.

II. SINCE theſe diſcuſſions would lead us too far, I proceed to the hiſtory of Nature diſtinguiſhed, for our preſent purpoſe, from that of Man; and divided into that of other *animals*,

who inhabit this globe, of the *mineral* ſubſtances, which it contains, and of the *vegetables*, which ſo luxuriantly and ſo beautifully adorn it.

1. Could the figure, inſtincts, and qualities of birds, beaſts, inſects, reptiles, and fiſh be aſcertained, either on the plan of BUFFON, or on that of LINNÆUS, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few ſtudies would afford us more ſolid inſtruction or more exquiſite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturaliſt can occaſion the miſery of an innocent bird and leave its young, perhaps, to periſh in a cold neſt, becauſe it has gay plumage and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, becauſe it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful; nor ſhall I ever forget the couplet of FIRDAUSI, for which SADI, who cites it with applauſe, pours bleſſings on his departed ſpirit:

> Ah! ſpare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain:
> He lives with pleaſure, and he dies with pain.

This may be only a confeſſion of weakneſs, and it certainly is not meant as a boaſt of peculiar ſenſibility; but, whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has ſuch an effect on my conduct, that I never would ſuffer the *Cocila*, whoſe *wild native woodnotes* announce the approach of

ſpring, to be caught in my garden for the ſake of comparing it with BUFFON's deſcription; though I have often examined the domeſtick and engaging *Mayanà*, which *bids us good morrow at our windows*, and expects, as its reward, little more than ſecurity: even when a fine young *Manis* or *Pangolin* was brought me, againſt my wiſh, from the mountains, I ſolicited his reſtoration to his beloved rocks, becauſe I found it impoſſible to preſerve him in comfort at a diſtance from them. There are ſeveral treatiſes on animals in *Arabick*, and very particular accounts of them in *Chineſe* with elegant outlines of their external appearance; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in *Perſian*, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet ſeen a book in *Sanſcrit*, that expreſsly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all *Aſia*, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be left, as much as poſſible, in a ſtate of natural freedom, or made as happy as poſſible, if it be neceſſary to keep them confined.

2. The hiſtory of minerals, to which no ſuch objection can be made, is extremely ſimple and eaſy, if we merely conſider their exterior look and configuration, and their viſible texture; but the analyſis of their internal properties belongs

particularly to the ſublime reſearches of Chymiſtry, on which we may hope to find uſeful diſquiſitions in *Sanſcrit*, ſince the old *Hindus* unqueſtionably applied themſelves to that enchanting ſtudy; and even from their treatiſes on alchymy we may poſſibly collect the reſults of actual experiment, as their ancient aſtrological works have preſerved many valuable facts relating to the *Indian* ſphere and the preceſſion of the equinox: both in *Perſian* and *Sanſcrit* there are books on metals and minerals, particularly on *gems*, which the *Hindu* philoſophers conſidered (with an exception of the diamond) as varieties of one cryſtalline ſubſtance either ſimple or compound: but we muſt not expect from the chymiſts of *Aſia* thoſe beautiful examples of analyſis which have but lately been diſplayed in the laboratories of *Europe*.

3. We now come to *Botany*, the loveliest and moſt copious diviſion in the hiſtory of nature; and, all diſputes on the comparative merit of ſyſtems being at length, I hope, condemned to *one perpetual night of undiſturbed ſlumber*, we cannot employ our leiſure more delightfully, than in deſcribing all new *Aſiatick* plants in the *Linnæan* ſtyle and method, or in correcting the deſcriptions of thoſe already known, but of which dry ſpecimens only, or drawings, can have been ſeen by moſt *European* botaniſts: in this

part of natural hiſtory we have an ample field yet unexplored; for, though many plants of *Arabia* have been made known by GARCIAS, PROSPER ALPINUS, and FORSKOEL, of *Perſia*, by GARCIN, of *Tartary*, by GMELIN and PALLAS, of *China* and *Japan*, by KŒMPFER, OSBECK, and THUNBERG, of *India*, by RHEEDE and RUMPHIUS, the two BURMANS, and the much-lamented KOENIG, yet none of thoſe naturaliſts were deeply verſed in the literature of the ſeveral countries, from which their vegetable treaſures had been procured; and the numerous works in *Sanſcrit* on medical ſubſtances, and chiefly on plants, have never been inſpected, or never at leaſt underſtood, by any *European* attached to the ſtudy of nature. Until the garden of the *India* Company ſhall be fully ſtored (as it will be, no doubt, in due time) with *Arabian*, *Perſian*, and *Chineſe* plants, we may well be ſatisfied with examining the native flowers of our own provinces; but, unleſs we can diſcover the *Sanſcrit* names of all celebrated vegetables, we ſhall neither comprehend the alluſions, which *Indian* poets perpetually make to them, nor (what is far worſe) be able to find accounts of their tried virtues in the writings of *Indian* phyſicians; and (what is worſt of all) we ſhall miſs an opportunity, which never again may preſent itſelf; for the *Pandits* themſelves have almoſt

wholly forgotten their ancient appellations of particular plants, and, with all my pains, I have not yet aſcertained more than *two hundred* out of twice that number, which are named in their medical or poetical compoſitions. It is much to be deplored, that the illuſtrious VAN RHEEDE had no acquaintance with *Sanſcrit*, which even his three *Brâhmens*, who compoſed the ſhort preface engraved in that language, appear to have underſtood very imperfectly, and certainly wrote with diſgraceful inaccuracy: in all his twelve volumes I recollect only *Punarnavà*, in which the *Nágari* letters are tolerably right; the *Hindu* words in *Arabian* characters are ſhamefully incorrect; and the *Malabar*, I am credibly informed, is as bad as the reſt. His delineations, indeed, are in general excellent; and, though LINNÆUS himſelf could not extract from his written deſcriptions the natural character of every plant in the collection, yet we ſhall be able, I hope, to deſcribe them all from the life, and to add a conſiderable number of new *ſpecies*, if not of new *genera*, which RHEEDE, with all his noble exertions, could never procure. Such of our learned members, as profeſs medicine, will, no doubt, cheerfully aſſiſt in theſe reſearches, either by their own obſervations, when they have leiſure to make any, or by communications from other obſervers among their

acquaintance, who may reſide in different parts of the country: and the mention of their art leads me to the various *uſes* of natural ſubſtances, in the three kingdoms or claſſes to which they are generally reduced.

III. You cannot but have remarked, that almoſt all the *ſciences*, as the *French* call them, which are diſtinguiſhed by *Greek* names and arranged under the head of philoſophy, belong for the moſt part to hiſtory; ſuch are philology, chymiſtry, phyſicks, anatomy, and even metaphyſicks, when we barely relate the phenomena of the human mind; for, in all branches of knowledge, we are only hiſtorians, when we announce facts, and philoſophers, only when we reaſon on them: the ſame may be confidently ſaid of law and of medicine, the firſt of which belongs principally to civil, and the ſecond chiefly to natural, hiſtory. Here, therefore, I ſpeak of *medicine*, as far only as it is grounded on experiment; and, without believing implicitly what *Arabs*, *Perſians*, *Chineſe*, or *Hindus* may have written on the virtues of medicinal ſubſtances, we may, ſurely, hope to find in their writings what our own experiments may confirm or diſprove, and what might never have occurred to us without ſuch intimations.

Europeans enumerate more than *two hundred and fifty* mechanical arts, by which the pro-

ductions of nature may be variouſly prepared for the convenience and ornament of life; and, though the *Silpaſáſtra* reduce them to *ſixty-four*, yet ABU'LFAZL had been aſſured, that the *Hindus* reckoned *three hundred* arts and ſciences: now, their ſciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that they anciently practiſed at leaſt as many uſeful arts as ourſelves. Several *Pandits* have informed me, that the treatiſes on art, which they call *Upavédas* and believe to have been inſpired, are not ſo entirely loſt, but that conſiderable fragments of them may be found at *Banares*; and they certainly poſſeſs many popular, but ancient, works on that intereſting ſubject. The manufactures of ſugar and indigo have been well known in theſe provinces for more than two thouſand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their *Sanſcrit* books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious facts, which might, indeed, be diſcovered by accident in a long courſe of years, but which we may ſoon bring to light, by the help of *Indian* literature, for the benefit of manufacturers and artiſts, and conſequently of our nation, who are intereſted in their proſperity. Diſcoveries of the ſame kind might be collected from the writings of other *Aſiatick* nations, eſpecially of the *Chineſe*; but, though *Perſian*, *Arabick*, *Turkiſh* and *Sanſcrit* are languages now ſo acceſſible, that,

in order to obtain a ſufficient knowledge of them, little more ſeems required than a ſtrong inclination to learn them, yet the ſuppoſed number and intricacy of the *Chineſe* characters have deterred our moſt diligent ſtudents from attempting to find their way through ſo vaſt a labyrinth: it is certain, however, that the difficulty has been magnified beyond the truth; for the perſpicuous grammar by M. FOURMONT, together with a copious dictionary, which I poſſeſs, in *Chineſe* and *Latin*, would enable any man, who pleaſed, to compare the original works of CONFUCIUS, which are eaſily procured, with the literal tranſlation of them by COUPLET; and, having made that firſt ſtep with attention, he would probably find, that he had traverſed at leaſt half of his career. But I ſhould be led beyond the limits aſſigned to me on this occaſion, if I were to expatiate farther on the hiſtorical diviſion of the knowledge compriſed in the literature of *Aſia*; and I muſt poſtpone till next year my remarks on *Aſiatick* philoſophy and on thoſe arts, which depend on imagination; promiſing you with confidence, that, in the courſe of the preſent year, your inquiries into the *civil and natural hiſtory* of this eaſtern world will be greatly promoted by the learned labours of many among our aſſociates and correſpondents.

DISCOURSE THE ELEVENTH.

ON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ASIATICKS.

DELIVERED 20 FEBRUARY, 1794.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAD it been of any importance, gentlemen, to arrange theſe anniverſary diſſertations according to the ordinary progreſs of the human mind, in the gradual expanſion of its three moſt conſiderable powers, *memory*, *imagination*, and *reaſon*, I ſhould certainly have preſented you with an eſſay on the *liberal arts* of the five *Aſiatick* nations, before I produced my remarks on their *abſtract ſciences*; becauſe, from my own obſervation at leaſt, it ſeems evident, that *fancy*, or the faculty of combining our ideas agreeably by various modes of imitation and ſubſtitution, is in general earlier exerciſed, and ſooner attains maturity, than the power of ſeparating and comparing thoſe ideas by the laborious exertions of intellect; and hence, I believe, it has happened, that all nations in the world had poets before

they had mere philoſophers: but, as M. D'ALEMBERT has deliberately placed ſcience before art, as the queſtion of precedence is, on this occaſion, of no moment whatever, and as many new facts on the ſubject of *Aſiatick* philoſophy are freſh in my remembrance, I propoſe to addreſs you now on the ſciences of *Aſia*, reſerving for our next annual meeting a diſquiſition concerning thoſe fine arts, which have immemorially been cultivated, with different ſucceſs and in very different modes, within the circle of our common inquiries.

By ſcience I mean an aſſemblage of tranſcendental propoſitions diſcoverable by human reaſon, and reducible to firſt principles, axioms, or maxims, from which they may all be derived in a regular ſucceſſion; and there are conſequently as many ſciences as there are general objects of our intellectual powers: when man firſt exerts thoſe powers, his objects are *himſelf* and the reſt of *nature*; himſelf he perceives to be compoſed of *body* and *mind*, and in his *individual* capacity, he reaſons on the *uſes* of his animal frame and of its parts both exteriour and internal, on the *diſorders* impeding the regular functions of thoſe parts, and on the moſt probable methods of preventing thoſe diſorders or of removing them; he ſoon feels the cloſe connexion between his corporeal and mental faculties, and when

his *mind* is reflected on itſelf, he diſcourſes on its *eſſence* and its *operations*; in his *ſocial* character, he analyzes his various *duties* and *rights* both private and publick; and in the leiſure, which the fulleſt diſcharge of thoſe duties always admits, his intellect is directed to *nature* at large, to the *ſubſtance* of natural bodies, to their ſeveral *properties*, and to their quantity both ſeparate and united, finite and infinite; from all which objects he deduces notions, either purely abſtract and univerſal, or mixed with undoubted facts, he argues from phenomena to theorems, from thoſe theorems to other phenomena, from cauſes to effects, from effects to cauſes, and thus arrives at the demonſtration of a *firſt intelligent cauſe*; whence his collected wiſdom, being arranged in the form of ſcience, chiefly conſiſts of *phyſiology* and *medicine*, *metaphyſicks* and *logick*, *ethicks* and *juriſprudence*, *natural philoſophy* and *mathematicks*; from which the *religion of nature* (ſince revealed religion muſt be referred to *hiſtory*, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in all nations been the ſublime and conſoling reſult. Without profeſſing to have given a logical definition of ſcience, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe *five* diviſions of *Aſiatick* philoſophy, enlarging for the moſt part on the progreſs which the *Hindus* have made in

them, and occaſionally introducing the ſciences of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, the *Tartars*, and the *Chineſe*; but, how extenſive ſoever may be the range which I have choſen, I ſhall beware of exhauſting your patience with tedious diſcuſſions, and of exceeding thoſe limits, which the occaſion of our preſent meeting has neceſſarily preſcribed.

I. THE firſt article affords little ſcope; ſince I have no evidence, that, in any language of *Aſia*, there exiſts one original treatiſe on medicine conſidered as a *ſcience:* phyſick, indeed, appears in theſe regions to have been from time immemorial, as we ſee it practiſed at this day by *Hindus* and *Muſelmáns*, a mere empirical *hiſtory* of diſeaſes and remedies; uſeful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the ſubject before us: though the *Arabs*, however, have chiefly followed the *Greeks* in this branch of knowledge, and have themſelves been implicitly followed by other *Mohammedan* writers, yet (not to mention the *Chineſe*, of whoſe medical works I can at preſent ſay nothing with confidence) we ſtill have acceſs to a number of *Sanſcrit* books on the old *Indian* practice of phyſick, from which, if the *Hindus* had a theoretical ſyſtem, we might eaſily collect it. The *Ayurvéda*, ſuppoſed to be the work of a celeſtial

phyſician, is almoſt entirely loſt, unfortunately perhaps for the curious *European*, but happily for the patient *Hindu*; ſince a revealed ſcience precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left perpetually open; but I have myſelf met with curious fragments of that primeval work, and, in the *Vèda* itſelf, I found with aſtoniſhment an entire *Upaniſhad* on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries, a deſcription of the heart, ſpleen, and liver, and various diſquiſitions on the formation and growth of the fetus: from the laws, indeed, of MENU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive, that the ancient *Hindus* were fond of reaſoning in their way on the myſteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the ſexes in the production of perfect offſpring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Eſſay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their phyſiological diſputes led to violent ſchiſms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eaſtern books on the ſcience of medicine; but examine them we muſt, if we wiſh to complete the hiſtory of univerſal philoſophy, and to ſup-

ply the ſcholars of *Europe* with authentick materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philoſophers of *Aſia:* to know, indeed, with certainty, that ſo much and no more can be known on any branch of ſcience, would in itſelf be very important and uſeful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundleſs curioſity of mankind, and to fix them in the ſtraight path of attainable ſcience, eſpecially of ſuch as relates to their duties and may conduce to their happineſs.

II. We have an ample field in the next diviſion, and a field almoſt wholly new; ſince the mytaphyſicks and logick of the *Bráhmens*, compriſed in their *ſix* philoſophical *Sáſtras*, and explained by numerous gloſſes or comments, have never yet been acceſſible to *Europeans*; and, by the help of the *Sanſcrit* language, we now may read the works of the *Saugatas*, *Bauddhas*, *Arhatas*, *Jainas*, and other heterodox philoſophers, whence we may gather the metaphyſical tenets prevalent in *China* and *Japan*, in the eaſtern peninſula of *India*, and in many conſiderable nations of *Tartary:* there are alſo ſome valuable tracts on theſe branches of ſcience in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, partly copied from the *Greeks*, and partly compriſing the doctrines of the *Súfis* which anciently prevailed, and ſtill

prevail in great meaſure over this oriental world, and which the *Greeks* themſelves condeſcended to borrow from eaſtern ſages.

The little treatiſe in four chapters, aſcribed to *Vyáſa*, is the only philoſophical *Sáſtra*, the original text of which I have had leiſure to peruſe with a *Bráhmen* of the *Védánti* ſchool: it is extremely obſcure, and, though compoſed in ſentences elegantly modulated, has more reſemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate ſummary, than to a regular ſyſtematical tract; but all its obſcurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and moſt learned SANCARA, whoſe commentary on the *Védánta*, which I read alſo with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perſpicuous account of all other *Indian* ſchools, from that of CAPILA to thoſe of the more modern hereticks. It is not poſſible, indeed, to ſpeak with too much applauſe of ſo excellent a work; and I am confident in aſſerting, that, until an accurate tranſlation of it ſhall appear in ſome *European* language, the general hiſtory of philoſophy muſt remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with thoſe, who are of opinion, that one correct verſion of any celebrated *Hindu* book would be of greater value than all the diſſertations or eſſays, that could be compoſed on the ſame ſubject; you will not, however, ex-

pect, that, in ſuch a diſcourſe as I am now delivering, I ſhould expatiate on the diverſity of *Indian* philoſophical ſchools, on the ſeveral founders of them, on the doctrines, which they reſpectively taught, or on their many diſciples, who diſſented from their inſtructors in ſome particular points. On the preſent occaſion, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the oldeſt head of a ſect, whoſe entire work is preſerved, was (according to ſome authors) CAPILA; not the divine perſonage, a reputed grandſon of BRAHMA', to whom CRI'SHNA compares himſelf in the *Gítá*, but a ſage of his name, who invented the *Sánc'hya*, or *Numeral*, philoſophy, which CRI'SHNA himſelf appears to impugn in his converſation with ARJUNA, and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, reſembled in part the metaphyſicks of PYTHAGORAS, and in part the theology of ZENO: his doctrines were enforced and illuſtrated, with ſome additions, by the venerable PATANJALI, who has alſo left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of PA'NINI, which are more obſcure, without a gloſs, than the darkeſt oracle: and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphyſicks the curious and important ſcience of *univerſal grammar*, on which many ſubtil diſquiſitions may be found interſperſed in the particular grammars of the ancient *Hindus*, and in

thoſe of the more modern *Arabs*. The next founder, I believe, of a philoſophical ſchool was GO'TAMA, if, indeed, he was not the moſt ancient of all; for his wife AHALY'A was, according to *Indian* legends, reſtored to a human ſhape by the great RA'MA; and a ſage of his name, whom we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe a different perſonage, is frequently mentioned in the *Véda* itſelf; to his rational doctrines thoſe of CANA'DA were in general conformable; and the philoſophy of them both is uſually called *Nyáya*, or *logical*, a title aptly beſtowed; for it ſeems to be a ſyſtem of metaphyſicks and logick better accommodated than any other anciently known in *India*, to the natural reaſon and common ſenſe of mankind; admitting the actual exiſtence of *material ſubſtance* in the popular acceptation of the word *matter*, and compriſing not only a body of ſublime dialecticks, but an artificial method of reaſoning, with diſtinct names for the three parts of a propoſition, and even for thoſe of a regular ſyllogiſm. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a ſingular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the *Dabiſtán*, in the *Panjáb* and in ſeveral *Perſian* provinces, that, "among other *In-*
" *dian* curioſities, which CALLISTHENES tranſ-
" mitted to his uncle, was *a technical ſyſtem of*
" *logick*, which the *Bráhmens* had communicated

" to the inquiſitive *Greek*," and which the *Mohammedan* writer ſuppoſes to have been the groundwork of the famous *Ariſtotelean* method: if this be true, it is one of the moſt intereſting facts, that I have met with in *Aſia*; and if it be falſe, it is very extraordinary, that ſuch a ſtory ſhould have been fabricated either by the candid MOHSANI *Fánì*; or by the ſimple *Pársís Pandits*, with whom he had converſed; but, not having had leiſure to ſtudy the *Nyáya Sáſtra*, I can only aſſure you, that I have frequently ſeen perfect ſyllogiſms in the philoſophical writings of the *Bráhmens*, and have often heard them uſed in their verbal controverſies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of GO'TAMA, yet the moſt celebrated *Indian* ſchool is that, with which I began, founded by VYA'SA, and ſupported in moſt reſpects by his pupil JAIMINI, whoſe diſſent on a few points is mentioned by his maſter with reſpectful moderation: their ſeveral ſyſtems are frequently diſtinguiſhed by the names of the firſt and ſecond *Mímánſá*, a word, which, like *Nyáya*, denotes the operations and concluſions of reaſon; but the tract of VYA'SA has in general the appellation of *Védánta*, or the ſcope and end of the *Véda*, on the texts of which, as they were underſtood by the philoſopher, who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet

of the *Vèdánti* ſchool, to which in a more modern age the incomparable SANCARA was a firm and illuſtrious adherent, conſiſted, not in denying the exiſtence of matter, that is, of ſolidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no eſſence independent of mental perception, that exiſtence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and ſenſations are illuſory, and would vaniſh into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone ſuſtains them, were ſuſpended but for a moment; an opinion, which EPICHARMUS and PLATO ſeem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the preſent century with great elegance, but with little publick applauſe; partly becauſe it has been miſunderſtood, and partly becauſe it has been miſapplied by the falſe reaſoning of ſome unpopular writers, who are ſaid to have diſbelieved in the moral attributes of GOD, whoſe omnipreſence, wiſdom, and goodneſs are the baſis of the *Indian* philoſophy: I have not ſufficient evidence on the ſubject to profeſs a belief in the doctrine of the *Vèdánta*, which human reaſon alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonſtrate, nor fully diſprove; but it is manifeſt, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a ſyſtem wholly built on the pureſt

devotion; and the inexpreſſible difficulty, which any man, who ſhall make the attempt, will aſſuredly find in giving a ſatisfactory definition of *material ſubſtance*, muſt induce us to deliberate with coolneſs, before we cenſure the learned and pious reſtorer of the ancient *Véda*; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind *be* the criterion of philoſophical truth, we muſt adhere to the ſyſtem of GOTAMA, which the *Bráhmens* of this province almoſt univerſally follow.

If the metaphyſicks of the *Védántís* be wild and erroneous, the pupils of BUDDHA have run, it is aſſerted, into an error diametrically oppoſite; for they are charged with denying the exiſtence of pure ſpirit, and with believing nothing abſolutely and really to exiſt but *material ſubſtance*; a heavy accuſation which ought only to have been made on poſitive and inconteſtable proof, eſpecially by the orthodox *Bráhmens*, who, as BUDDHA diſſented from their anceſtors in regard to *bloody ſacrifices*, which the *Véda* certainly preſcribes, may not unjuſtly be ſuſpected of low and intereſted malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely falſe, having only read a few pages of a *Saugata* book, which Captain KIRKPATRICK had lately the kindneſs to give me; but it begins, like other *Hind*books, with the

word *Om*, which we know to be a ſymbol of the divine attributes: then follows, indeed, a myſterious hymn to the Goddeſs of Nature, by the name of *Áryá*, but with ſeveral other titles, which the *Bráhmens* themſelves continually beſtow on their *Dévì*; now the *Bráhmens*, who have no idea, that any ſuch perſonage exiſts as DE'VI', or the *Goddeſs*, and only mean to expreſs allegorically the *power* of GOD, exerted in creating, preſerving and renovating this univerſe, we cannot with juſtice infer, that the diſſenters admit no deity but *viſible nature:* the *Pandit*, who now attends me, and who told Mr. WILKINS, that the *Saugatas* were atheiſts, would not have attempted to reſiſt the deciſive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very inſtrument, on which he was conſulted, if his underſtanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary prieſthood. A literal verſion of the book juſt mentioned (if any ſtudious man had learning and induſtry equal to the taſk) would be an ineſtimable treaſure to the compiler of ſuch a hiſtory as that of the laborious BRUCKER; but let us proceed to the *morals* and *juriſprudence* of the *Aſiatícks*, on which I could expatiate, if the occaſion admitted a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, with correctneſs and confidence.

III. THAT both ethicks and abſtract law

might be reduced to the *method of ſcience*, cannot ſurely be doubted; but, although ſuch a method would be of infinite uſe in a ſyſtem of univerſal, or even of national, juriſprudence, yet the *principles* of morality are ſo few, ſo luminous, and ſo ready to preſent themſelves on every occaſion, that the practical utility of a ſcientifical arrangement, in a treatiſe on ethicks, may very juſtly be queſtioned. The moraliſts of the eaſt have in general choſen to deliver their precepts in ſhort ſententious maxims, to illuſtrate them by ſprightly compariſons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologues: there are, indeed, both in *Arabick* and *Perſian*, philoſophical tracts on ethicks written with ſound ratiocination and elegant perſpicuity: but in every part of this eaſtern world, from *Pekin* to *Damaſcus*, the popular teachers of moral wiſdom have immemorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are ſtill extant in the five principal languages of *Aſia*. Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any hiſtory be true) is abundantly proved by hiſtorical evidence, has no need of ſuch aids, as many are willing to give it, by aſſerting, that the wiſeſt men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims that *we muſt act in reſpect of others, as we ſhould wiſh them to act in reſpect of our-*

ſelves, and that, *inſtead* of *returning evil for evil, we ſhould confer benefits even on thoſe who injure us*; but the firſt rule is implied in a ſpeech of LYSIAS, and expreſſed in diſtinct phraſes by THALES and PITTACUS; and I have even ſeen it word for word in the original of CONFUCIUS, which I carefully compared with the *Latin* tranſlation. It has been uſual with zealous men, to ridicule and abuſe all thoſe, who dare on this point to quote the *Chineſe* philoſopher; but, inſtead of ſupporting their cauſe, they would ſhake it, if it could be ſhaken, by their uncandid aſperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is moſt expreſsly declared, was not to inſtruct the wiſe and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the converſation, therefore, of the *Pandits* and *Maulavis* in this country ſhall ever be attempted by proteſtant miſſionaries, they muſt beware of aſſerting, while they teach the goſpel of truth, what thoſe *Pandits* and *Maulavis* would know to be falſe: the former would cite the beautiful *Áryá* couplet, which was written at leaſt three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his deſtruction, to conſiſt *not only in forgiving, but even in a deſire of benefiting, his deſtroyer, as the* Sandal-*tree, in the inſtant of its overthrow, ſheds perfume on the axe, which fells it*; and the latter

would triumph in repeating the verſe of SADI', who repreſents *a return of good for good as a ſlight reciprocity*, but ſays to the virtuous man, "*Confer benefits on him who has injured thee*," uſing an *Arabick* ſentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient *Arabs*. Nor would the *Muſelmans* fail to recite four diſtichs of HA'FIZ, who has illuſtrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant alluſions;

Learn from yon orient ſhell to love thy foe,
And ſtore with pearls the hand, that brings thee wo:
Free, like yon rock, from baſe vindictive pride,
Imblaze with gems the wriſt, that rends thy ſide:
Mark, where yon tree rewards the ſtony ſhow'r
With fruit nectareous, or the balmy flow'r:
All nature calls aloud: "Shall man do leſs
Than heal the ſmiter, and the railer bleſs?"

Now there is not a ſhadow of reaſon for believing, that the poet of *Shiraz* had borrowed this doctrine from the *Chriſtians*; but, as the cauſe of *Chriſtianity* could never be promoted by falſehood or errour, ſo it will never be obſtructed by candour and veracity; for the leſſons of CONFUCIUS and CHANACYA, of SADI and HA'FIZ, are unknown even at this day to millions of *Chineſe* and *Hindus*, *Perſians* and other *Mahommedans*, who toil for their daily ſupport; nor, were they known ever ſo perfectly, would they have a divine ſanction with the multitude;

ſo that, in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverſe, it is evidently *a priori*, that a revealed religion was neceſſary in the great ſyſtem of providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topick, was to give you a ſpecimen of that ancient oriental morality, which is compriſed in an infinite number of *Perſian*, *Arabick*, and *Sanſcrit* compoſitions.

Nearly one half of *jurijprudence* is cloſely connected with ethicks; but, ſince the learned of *Aſia* conſider moſt of their laws as poſitive and divine inſtitutions, and not as the mere concluſions of human reaſon, and ſince I have prepared a maſs of extremely curious materials, which I reſerve for an introduction to the digeſt of *Indian* laws, I proceed to the fourth diviſion, which conſiſts principally of *ſcience* tranſcendently ſo named, or *the knowledge of abſtract quantities, of their limits, properties and relations*, impreſſed on the underſtanding with the force of irreſiſtible *demonſtration*, which, as all other knowledge depends at beſt on our fallible ſenſes, and in great meaſure on ſtill more fallible teſtimony, can only be found, in pure mental abſtractions; though for all the purpoſes of life, our own ſenſes, and even the credible teſtimony of others, give us in moſt caſes the higheſt degree of certainty, phyſical and moral.

IV. I HAVE already had occaſion to touch on the *Indian* metaphyſicks of *natural bodies* according to the moſt celebrated of the *Aſiatick* ſchools, from which the *Pythagoreans* are ſuppoſed to have borrowed many of their opinions; and, as we learn from CICERO, that the old ſages of *Europe* had an idea of *centripetal force* and a principle of *univerſal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonſtrate), ſo I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the neverfading laurels of our immortal NEWTON, that the whole of his theology and part of his philoſophy may be found in the *Védas* and even in the works of the *Sufis:* that *moſt ſubtil ſpirit*, which he ſuſpected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cauſe attraction and repulſion, the emiſſion, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calefaction, ſenſation, and muſcular motion, is deſcribed by the *Hindus* as a *fifth element* endued with thoſe very powers; and the *Védas* abound with alluſions to a force univerſally attractive, which they chiefly aſcribe to the Sun, thence called *Aditya*, or the *Attractor*; a name deſigned by the mythologiſts to mean the child of the Goddeſs ADITI; but the moſt wonderful paſſage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of SHI'RI'N and FERHA'D, or the *Divine Spirit* and *a human*

Soul diſintereſtedly pious; a work which from the firſt verſe to the laſt, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole paſſage appears to me ſo curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful tranſlation of it: "There "is a ſtrong propenſity, which dances through "every atom, and attracts the minuteſt particle "to ſome peculiar object; ſearch this univerſe "from its baſe to its ſummit, from fire to air, "from water to earth, from all below the Moon "to all above the celeſtial ſpheres, and thou "wilt not find a corpuſcle deſtitute of that na- "tural attractibility; the very point of the firſt "thread, in this apparently tangled ſkein, is no "other than ſuch a principle of attraction, and "all principles beſide are void of a real baſis; "from ſuch a propenſity ariſes every motion "perceived in heavenly or in terreſtrial bodies; "it is a diſpoſition to be attracted, which taught "hard ſteel to ruſh from its place and rivet itſelf "on the magnet; it is the ſame diſpoſition, "which impels the light ſtraw to attach itſelf "firmly on amber; it is this quality, which gives "every ſubſtance in nature a tendency toward "another, and an inclination forcibly directed "to a determinate point." Theſe notions are vague, indeed, and unſatisfactory; but permit me to aſk, whether the laſt paragraph of NEWTON's incomparable work goes much farther,

and whether any ſubſequent experiments have thrown light on a ſubject ſo abſtruſe and obſcure: that the ſublime aſtronomy and exquiſitely beautiful geometry, with which that work is illumined, ſhould in any degree be approached by the Mathematicians of *Aſia*, while of all *Europeans*, who ever lived, ARCHIMEDES alone was capable of emulating them, would be a vain expectation; but we muſt ſuſpend our opinion of *Indian* aſtronomical knowledge, till the *Súrya ſiddhánta* ſhall appear in our own language, and even then (to adopt a phraſe of CICERO) our *greedy and capacious ears* will by no means be ſatisfied; for in order to complete an hiſtorical account of genuine *Hindu* aſtronomy, we require verbal tranſlations of at leaſt three other *Sanſcrit* books; of the treatiſe by PARASARA, for the firſt age of *Indian* ſcience, of that by VARA'HA, with the copious comment of his very learned ſon, for the middle age, and of thoſe written by BHASCARA, for times comparatively modern. The valuable and now acceſſible works of the laſt mentioned philoſopher, contain alſo an *univerſal*, or *ſpecious*, arithmetick, with one chapter at leaſt on geometry; nor would it, ſurely, be difficult to procure, through our ſeveral reſidents with the *Píſhwá* and with SCINDHYA, the older books on algebra, which BHASCARA mentions, and on which Mr. DAVIS would juſtly ſet a

very high value; but the *Sanſcrit* work, from which we might expect the moſt ample and important information, is entitled *Cſhétráderſa*, or *a View of Geometrical Knowledge*, and was compiled in a very large volume by order of the illuſtrious JAYASINHA, compriſing all that remains on that ſcience in the ſacred language of *India:* it was inſpected in the weſt by a *Pandit* now in the ſervice of Lieutenant WILFORD, and might, I am perſuaded, be purchaſed at *Jayanagar*, where Colonel POLIER had permiſſion from the *Rájá* to buy the four *Védas* themſelves. THUS have I anſwered, to the beſt of my power, the three firſt queſtions obligingly tranſmitted to us by profeſſor PLAYFAIR; whether the *Hindus* have books in *Sanſcrit* expreſsly on geometry, whether they have any ſuch on arithmetick, and whether a tranſlation of the *Súrya ſiddhánta* be not the great *deſideratum* on the ſubject of *Indian* aſtronomy: to his three laſt queſtions, whether an accurate ſummary account of all the *Sanſcrit* works on that ſubject, a delineation of the *Indian* celeſtial ſphere, with correct remarks on it, and a deſcription of the aſtronomical inſtruments uſed by the ancient *Hindus*, would not ſeverally be of great utility, we cannot but anſwer in the affirmative, provided that the utmoſt critical ſagacity were applied in diſtinguiſhing ſuch works, conſtellations,

and inſtruments, as are clearly of *Indian* origin, from ſuch as were introduced into this country by *Muſelman* aſtronomers from *Tartary* and *Perſia*, or in later days by Mathematicians from *Europe*.

V. FROM all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of ſcience, from all the deductions of human reaſon, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*, by *Perſians*, and by *Chineſe*, is the ſupremacy of an all-creating and all-preſerving ſpirit, infinitely wiſe, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehenſion of his moſt exalted creatures; nor are there in any language (the ancient *Hebrew* always excepted) more pious and ſublime addreſſes to the being of beings, more ſplendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful deſcriptions of his viſible works, than in *Arabick*, *Perſian* and *Sanſcrit*, eſpecially in the *Koran*, the introductions to the poems of SADI', NIZA'MI, and FIRDAUSI, the four *Védas* and many parts of the numerous *Puránas:* but ſupplication and praiſe would not ſatisfy the boundleſs imagination of the *Vedántì* and *Sùfi* theologiſts, who blending uncertain metaphyſicks with undoubted principles of religion, have preſumed to reaſon confidently on the very nature and eſſence of the divine ſpirit, and aſſerted in a very remote age, what multitudes of

Hindus and *Muſelmans* aſſert at this hour, that all ſpirit is homogeneous, that the ſpirit of GOD is in *kind* the ſame with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in *degree*, and that, as material ſubſtance is mere illuſion, there exiſts in this univerſe only one generick ſpiritual ſubſtance, the ſole primary cauſe, efficient, ſubſtantial and formal of all ſecondary cauſes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its higheſt degree, with a ſublime providential wiſdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehenſible to the ſpirits which emane from it; an opinion, which GOTAMA never taught, and which we have no authority to believe, but which, as it is grounded on the doctrine of an immaterial creator ſupremely wiſe, and a conſtant preſerver ſupremely benevolent, differs as widely from the pantheiſm of SPINOZA and TOLAND, as the affirmation of a propoſition differs from the negation of it; though the laſt named profeſſor of that *inſane philoſophy* had the baſeneſs to conceal his meaning under the very words of Saint PAUL, which are cited by NEWTON for a purpoſe totally different, and has even uſed a phraſe, which occurs, indeed, in the *Véda*, but in a ſenſe diametrically oppoſite to that, which he would have given it. The paſſage, to which I allude, is in a ſpeech of VARUNA to his ſon, where he ſays: "That ſpirit, from which theſe created

" beings proceed; through which having pro-
" ceeded from it, they live; toward which they
" tend and in which they are ultimately abſorb-
" ed, that ſpirit ſtudy to know; that ſpirit is the
" Great One."

The ſubject of this diſcourſe, gentlemen, is inexhauſtible: it has been my endeavour to ſay as much on it as poſſible in the feweſt words; and, at the beginning of next year, I hope to cloſe theſe general diſquiſitions with topicks meaſureleſs in extent, but leſs abſtruſe than that, which has this day been diſcuſſed, and better adapted to the gaiety, which ſeems to have prevailed in the learned banquets of the *Greeks*, and which ought, ſurely, to prevail in every ſympoſiack aſſembly.

INDIAN, ARABIAN & PERSIAN

LETTERS.

Soft and hard Breathings

a *or* e h a hha

Vowels	*Diphthongs and*		*Semivowels*	
ă ā	a, à	e	è	y a
i	ì	o	ò	w a
u	ù	a i	a u	r a
r ĭ	r ī	l r ĭ	l r ī	l a
â à	ê è	î ì	û ù	á â

Consonants

c a	c'ha	g a	g'ha	n a
k a	k h a		g h a	
s a	s h a	z a	z h a	ś a
ť a	ť'ha	ď a	ď'ha	ń a
			ď h a	
t a	t'ha	d a	d'ha	n a
	t h a		d h a	
p a	p'ha	b a	b'ha	m a
	f a		v a	

Compounds.

c h a	ch,ha	j a	j h a	ṅ y a

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORTHOGRAPHY OF ASIATICK WORDS

IN ROMAN LETTERS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

EVERY man, who has occaſion to compoſe tracts on *Aſiatick* Literature, or to tranſlate from the *Aſiatick* Languages, muſt always find it convenient, and ſometimes neceſſary, to expreſs *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Perſian* words, or ſentences, in the characters generally uſed among *Europeans*; and almoſt every writer in thoſe circumſtances has a method of notation peculiar to himſelf; but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete ſyſtem; ſo that each original ſound may be rendered invariably by one appropriated ſymbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the *Roman* alphabet, which modern *Europe* has in general adopted. A want of attention to this object has occaſioned great confuſion in Hiſtory and Geography. The

ancient *Greeks*, who made a voluntary ſacrifice of truth to the delicacy of their ears, appear to have altered by deſign almoſt all the oriental names, which they introduced into their elegant, but romantick, Hiſtories; and even their more modern Geographers, who were too vain, perhaps, of their own language to learn any other, have ſo ſtrangely diſguiſed the proper appellations of countries, cities, and rivers in *Aſia*, that, without the guidance of the ſagacious and indefatigable M. D'ANVILLE, it would have been as troubleſome to follow ALEXANDER through the *Panjàb* on the Ptolemaick map of AGATHODÆMON, as actually to travel over the ſame country in its preſent ſtate of rudeneſs and diſorder. They had an unwarrantable habit of moulding foreign names to a *Grecian* form, and giving them a reſemblance to ſome derivative word in their own tongue: thus, they changed the *Gogra* into *Agoranis*, or *a river of the aſſembly*, *Uchah* into *Oxydracæ*, or *ſharpſighted*, and *Renas* into *Aornos*, or *a rock inacceſſible to birds*; whence their poets, who delighted in wonders, embelliſhed their works with new images, diſtinguiſhing regions and fortreſſes by properties, which exiſted only in imagination. If we have leſs livelineſs of fancy than the Ancients, we have more accuracy, more love of truth, and, perhaps, more ſolidity of judgement; and, if our

works ſhall afford leſs delight to thoſe, in reſpect of whom we ſhall be Ancients, it may be ſaid without preſumption, that we ſhall give them more correct information on the Hiſtory and Geography of this eaſtern world; ſince no man can perfectly deſcribe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it. The learned and entertaining work of M. D'HERBELOT, which profeſſes to interpret and elucidate the names of perſons and places, and the titles of books, abounds alſo in citations from the beſt writers of *Arabia* and *Perſia*; yet, though his orthography will be found leſs defective than that of other writers on ſimilar ſubjects, without excepting the illuſtrious Prince KANTEMIR, ſtill it requires more than a moderate knowledge of *Perſian*, *Arabick*, and *Turkiſh*, to comprehend all the paſſages quoted by him in *European* characters; one inſtance of which I cannot forbear giving. In the account of *Ibnu Zaidùn*, a celebrated *Andaluſian* poet, the firſt couplet of an elegy in *Arabick* is praiſed for its elegance, and expreſſed thus in *Roman* letters:

Iekad heïn tenagikom dhamairna;
Iacdha âlaïna alaſſa laula taſſina.

"The time, adds the tranſlator, will ſoon "come, when you will deliver us from all our "cares: the remedy is aſſured, provided we

" have a little patience." When Dr. HUNT of *Oxford*, whom I am bound to name with gratitude and veneration, together with two or three others, attempted at my requeſt to write the ſame diſtich in *Arabian* characters, they all wrote it differently, and all, in my preſent opinion, erroneouſly. I was then a very young ſtudent, and could not eaſily have procured *Ibnu Zaidùn's* works, which are, no doubt, preſerved in the *Bodley* library, but which have not ſince fallen in my way. This admired couplet, therefore, I have never ſeen in the original characters, and confeſs myſelf at a loſs to render them with certainty. Both verſes are written by *D'Herbelot* without attention to the grammatical points, that is, in a form which no learned *Arab* would give them in recitation; but, although the *French* verſion be palpably erroneous, it is by no means eaſy to correct the errour. If *álásà* or a *remedy* be the true reading, the negative particle muſt be abſurd, ſince *taáſſainà* ſignifies *we are patient*, and not *we deſpair*, but, if *álášay* or *affliction* be the proper word, ſome obſcurity muſt ariſe from the verb, with which it agrees. On the whole I gueſs, that the diſtich ſhould thus be written:

يَكَادُ حِيْنَ تُنَاجِيكُمْ ضَمَايِرُنَا
يَقْضِى عَلَيْنَا ٱلْأَسَى لَوْلَا تَأَسِّينَا

Yecádu bhína tunájicum d'emáïrunà
Yakdì álainà 'láſay lau là taáſsinà.

"When our boſoms impart their ſecrets to "you, anguiſh would almoſt fix our doom, if "we were not mutually to conſole ourſelves."

The principal verbs may have a future ſenſe, and the laſt word may admit of a different interpretation. Dr. HUNT, I remember, had found in GIGGEIUS the word *dhemáyer*, which he conceived to be in the original. After all, the rhyme ſeems imperfect, and the meaſure irregular. Now I aſk, whether ſuch perplexities could have ariſen, if *D'Herbelot* or his Editor had formed a regular ſyſtem of expreſſing *Arabick* in *Roman* characters, and had apprized his readers of it in his introductory diſſertation?

If a further proof be required, that ſuch a ſyſtem will be uſeful to the learned and eſſential to the ſtudent, let me remark, that a learner of *Perſian*, who ſhould read in our beſt hiſtories the life of Sultan AZIM, and wiſh to write his name in *Arabick* letters, might expreſs it *thirty-nine* different ways, and be wrong at laſt: the word ſhould be written *Áźem* with three points on the firſt conſonant.

There are two general modes of exhibiting *Aſiatick* words in our own letters: they are founded on principles nearly oppoſite, but each

of them has its advantages, and each has been recommended by reſpectable authorities. The firſt profeſſes to regard chiefly the *pronunciation* of the words intended to be expreſſed; and this method, as far as it can be purſued, is unqueſtionably uſeful: but new ſounds are very inadequately preſented to a ſenſe not formed to receive them; and the reader muſt in the end be left to pronounce many letters and ſyllables precarioufly; beſides, that by this mode of orthography all grammatical analogy is deſtroyed, ſimple ſounds are repreſented by double characters, vowels of one denomination ſtand for thoſe of another; and poſſibly with all our labour we perpetuate a provincial or inelegant pronunciation: all theſe objections may be made to the uſual way of writing *Kummerbund*, in which neither the letters nor the true ſound of them are preſerved, while *Kemerbend*, or *Cemerbend*, as an ancient *Britton* would write it, clearly exhibits both the original characters and the *Perſian* pronunciation of them. To ſet this point in a ſtrong light, we need only ſuppoſe, that the *French* had adopted a ſyſtem of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houſes: let us conceive an *Engliſhman* acquainted with their language to be pleaſed with MALHERBE's well-known imitation of *Horace*, and deſirous of

quoting it in ſome piece of criticiſm. He would read thus:

'La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles;
'Qn a beau la prier:
'La cruelle qu'elle eſt ſe bouche les oreilles,
'Et nous laiſſe crier.

'Le pauvre en ſa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
'Eſt ſujet à ſes loix,
'Et la garde, qui veille aux barrieres du *Louvre*,
'N'en défend pas nos rois!'

Would he then expreſs theſe eight verſes, in *Roman* characters, exactly as the *French* themſelves in fact expreſs them, or would he decorate his compoſition with a paſſage more reſembling the dialect of ſavages, than that of a poliſhed nation? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus repreſented:

'Law more aw day reegyewrs aw nool otruh parellyuh,
'Onne aw bo law preeay:
'Law croollyuh kellay ſuh booſhuh lays orellyuh,
'Ay noo layſuh creeay.

'Luh povre ong ſaw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh coovruh,
'Ay ſoozyet aw ſay lwaw,
'Ay law gawrduh kee velly ò bawryayruh dyoo *Loovruh*
'Nong dayſong paw no rwaw!'

The ſecond ſyſtem of *Aſiatick* Orthography conſiſts in ſcrupulouſly rendering letter for letter,

without any particular care to preſerve the pronunciation; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it ſeems clearly entitled to preference.

For the firſt method of writing *Perſian* words the warmeſt advocate, among my acquaintance, was the late Major DAVY, a Member of our Society, and a man of parts, whom the world loſt prematurely at a time, when he was meditating a literary retirement, and hoping to paſs the remainder of his life in domeſtick happineſs, and in the cultivation of his very uſeful talents. He valued himſelf particularly on his pronunciation of the *Perſian* language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters, which he inſtructed the learned and amiable Editor of his *Inſtitutes of Timour* at *Oxford* to retain with minute attention throughout his work. Where he had acquired his refined articulation of the *Perſian*, I never was informed; but it is evident, that he ſpells moſt proper names in a manner, which a native of *Perſia*, who could read our letters, would be unable to comprehend. For inſtance: that the capital of *Azarbáíjàn* is now called *Tabríz*, I know from the mouth of a perſon born in that city, as well as from other *Iranians*; and that it was ſo called ſixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the Geography of *Ptolemy*; yet Major DAVY always wrote it

Tubburaze, and inſiſted that it ſhould thus be pronounced. Whether the natives of *Semerkand*, or *Samarkand*, who probably ſpeak the dialect of *Soghd* with a *Turanian* pronunciation, call their birthplace, as DAVY ſpelled it, *Summurkund*, I have yet to learn; but I cannot believe it, and am convinced, that the former mode of writing the word expreſſes both the letters and the ſound of them better than any other combination of characters. His method, therefore, has every defect; ſince it renders neither the original elements of words, nor the ſounds repreſented by them in *Perſia*, where alone we muſt ſeek for genuine *Perſian*, as for *French* in *France*, and for *Italian* in *Italy*.

The ſecond method has found two able ſupporters in Mr. HALHED and Mr. WILKINS; to the firſt of whom the publick is indebted for a perſpicuous and ample grammar of the *Bengal* language, and to the ſecond for more advantages in *Indian* literature than *Europe*, or *India*, can ever ſufficiently acknowledge.

Mr. HALHED, having juſtly remarked, 'that 'the two greateſt defects in the orthography of 'any language are the application of the ſame 'letter to ſeveral different ſounds, and of different 'letters to the ſame ſound,' truly pronounces them both to be 'ſo common in *Engliſh*, that he was 'exceedingly embarraſſed in the choice of letters

'to expreſs the ſound of the *Bengal* vowels, and 'was at laſt by no means ſatisfied with his own 'ſelection.' If any thing diſſatisfies me, in his clear and accurate ſyſtem, it is the uſe of *double* letters for the long vowels (which might however be juſtified) and the frequent intermixture of *Italick* with *Roman* letters in the ſame word; which both in writing and printing muſt be very inconvenient: perhaps it may be added, that his diphthongs are not expreſſed analogouſly to the ſounds, of which they are compoſed.

The ſyſtem of Mr. WILKINS has been equally well conſidered, and Mr. HALHED himſelf has indeed adopted it in his preface to the *Compilation of Hindu Laws:* it principally conſiſts of double letters to ſignify our third and fifth vowels, and of the common proſodial marks to aſcertain their brevity or their length; but thoſe marks are ſo generally appropriated to books of proſody, that they never fail to convey an idea of metre; nor, if *either* proſodial ſign were adopted, would *both* be neceſſary; ſince the omiſſion of a long mark would evidently denote the ſhortneſs of the unmarked vowel, or converſely. On the whole, I cannot but approve this notation for *Sanſcrit* words, yet require ſomething more univerſally expreſſive of *Aſiatick* letters: as it is perfect, however, in its kind, and will appear in the works of its learned inventor, I ſhall an-

nex, among the examples, four diſtichs from the *Bhágawat* expreſſed both in his method and mine*: a tranſlation of them will be produced on another occaſion; but, in order to render this tract as complete as poſſible, a fuller ſpecimen of *Sanſcrit* will be ſubjoined with the original printed in the characters of *Bengal*, into which the *Bráhmans* of that province tranſpoſe all their books, few of them being able to read the *Dévanágari* letters: ſo far has their indolence prevailed over their piety!

Let me now proceed, not preſcribing rules for others, but explaining thoſe which I have preſcribed for myſelf, to unfold my own ſyſtem, the convenience of which has been proved by careful obſervation and long experience.

It would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe on the organs of ſpeech, which have been a thouſand times diſſected, and as often deſcribed by muſicians or anatomiſts; and the ſeveral powers of which every man may perceive either by the touch or by ſight, if he will attentively obſerve another perſon pronouncing the different claſſes of letters, or pronounce them himſelf diſtinctly before a mirror: but a ſhort analyſis of articulate ſounds may be proper to introduce an examination of every ſeparate ſymbol.

* Plate IV.

All things abound with errour, as the old ſearchers for truth remarked with deſpondence; but it is really deplorable, that our firſt ſtep from total ignorance ſhould be into groſs inaccuracy, and that we ſhould begin our education in *England* with learning to read *the five vowels, two* of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five ſimple vocal ſounds in our language, as in that of *Rome*; which occur in the words *an innocent bull*, though not preciſely in their natural order, for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciouſly diſarrange them in pronunciation; ſo that our eyes are ſatisfied, and our ears diſappointed. The primary elements of articulation are the *ſoft* and *hard breathings*, the *ſpiritus lenis* and *ſpiritus aſper* of the *Latin* Grammarians. If the lips be opened ever ſo little, the breath ſuffered gently to paſs through them, and the feebleſt utterance attempted, a ſound is formed of ſo ſimple a nature, that, when lengthened, it continues nearly the ſame, except that, by the leaſt acuteneſs in the voice it becomes a cry, and is probably the firſt ſound uttered by infants; but if, while this element is articulated, the breath be forced with an effort through the lips, we form an *aſpirate* more or leſs harſh in proportion to the force exerted. When, in pro-

nouncing the ſimple vowel, we open our lips wider, we expreſs a ſound completely articulated, which moſt nations have agreed to place the *firſt* in their ſymbolical ſyſtems: by opening them wider ſtill with the corners of them a little drawn back, we give birth to the *ſecond* of the *Roman* vowels, and by a large aperture, with a farther inflexion of the lips and a higher elevation of the tongue, we utter the *third* of them. By purſing up our lips in the leaſt degree, we convert the ſimple element into another ſound of the ſame nature with the *firſt* vowel, and eaſily confounded with it in a broad pronunciation: when this new ſound is lengthened, it approaches very nearly to the *fourth* vowel, which we form by a bolder and ſtronger rotundity of the mouth; a farther contraction of it produces the *fifth* vowel, which in its elongation almoſt cloſes the lips, a ſmall paſſage only being left for the breath. Theſe are all ſhort vowels; and, if an *Italian* were to read the words *an innocent bull*, he would give the ſound of each correſponding long vowel, as in the monoſyllables of his own language, *ſà, ſi, ſò, ſe, ſù*. Between theſe ten vowels are numberleſs gradations, and nice inflexions, which uſe only can teach; and, by the compoſition of them all, might be formed an hundred diphthongs, and a thouſand triphthongs; many of which are found

in *Italian*, and were probably articulated by the *Greeks*; but we have only occaſion, in this tract, for two diphthongs, which are compounded of the *firſt* vowel with the *third*, and with the *fifth*, and ſhould be expreſſed by their conſtituent letters: as to thoſe vocal compounds which begin with the *third* and *fifth* ſhort vowels, they are generally and not inconveniently rendered by diſtinct characters, which are improperly ranged among the conſonants. The tongue, which aſſiſts in forming ſome of the vowels, is the principal inſtrument in articulating two liquid ſounds, which have ſomething of a vocal nature; one, by ſtriking the roots of the upper teeth, while the breath paſſes gently through the lips, another, by an inflexion upwards with a tremulous motion; and theſe two liquids coaleſce with ſuch eaſe, that a mixed letter, uſed in ſome languages, may be formed by the firſt of them followed by the ſecond: when the breath is obſtructed by the preſſure of the tongue, and forced between the teeth on each ſide of it, a liquid is formed peculiar to the *Britiſh* dialect of the *Celtick*.

We may now conſider in the ſame order, beginning with the root of the tongue and ending with the perfect cloſe of the lips, thoſe leſs muſical ſounds, which require the aid of a *vowel*, or at leaſt of the *ſimple breathing*, to be fully ar-

ticulated; and it may here be premiſed, that the *harſh breathing* diſtinctly pronounced after each of theſe *conſonants*, as they are named by grammarians, conſtitutes its proper *aſpirate*.

By the aſſiſtance of the tongue and the palate are produced two congenial ſounds, differing only as *hard* and *ſoft*; and theſe two may be formed ſtill deeper in the throat, ſo as to imitate, with a long vowel after them, the voice of a raven; but if, while they are uttered, the breath be harſhly protruded, two analogous articulations are heard, the ſecond of which ſeems to characterize the pronunciation of the *Arabs*; while the naſal ſound, very common among the *Perſians* and *Indians*, may be conſidered as the *ſoft palatine* with part of the breath paſſing through the noſe; which organ would by itſelf rather produce a *vocal* ſound, common alſo in *Arabia*, and not unlike the cry of a young antelope and ſome other quadrupeds.

Next come different claſſes of *dentals*, and among the firſt of them ſhould be placed the *ſibilants*, which moſt nations expreſs by an *indented* figure: each of the *dental* ſounds is hard or ſoft, ſharp or obtuſe, and, by thruſting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, we form two ſounds exceedingly common in *Arabick* and *Engliſh*, but changed into liſping ſibilants by the *Perſians* and *French*, while they on the

other hand have a ſound unknown to the *Arabs*, and uncommon in our language, though it occurs in ſome words by the compoſition of the hard ſibilant with our laſt vowel pronounced as a diphthong. The liquid *naſal* follows theſe, being formed by the tongue and roots of the teeth, with a little aſſiſtance from the other organ; and we muſt particularly remember, when we attend to the pronunciation of *Indian* dialects, that moſt ſounds of this claſs are varied in a ſingular manner by turning the tongue upwards, and almoſt bending it back towards the palate, ſo as to exclude them nearly from the order, but not from the analogy, of dentals.

The *labials* form the laſt ſeries, moſt of which are pronounced by the appulſe of the lips on each other or on the teeth, and one of them by their perfect cloſe: the letters, by which they are denoted, repreſent in moſt alphabets the curvature of one lip or of both; and *a natural character* for all articulate ſounds might eaſily be agreed on, if nations would agree on any thing generally beneficial, by delineating the ſeveral organs of ſpeech in the act of articulation, and ſelecting from each a diſtinct and elegant outline. A perfect language would be that, in which every idea, capable of entering the human mind, might be neatly and emphatically expreſſed by one ſpecifick word, ſimple if the idea were ſim-

ple, complex, if complex; and on the ſame principle a perfect ſyſtem of letters ought to contain one ſpecifick ſymbol for every ſound uſed in pronouncing the language to which they belonged: in this reſpect the old *Perſian* or *Zend* approaches to perfection; but the *Arabian* alphabet, which all *Mohammedan* nations have inconſiderately adopted, appears to me ſo complete for the purpoſe of writing *Arabick*, that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifeſt inconvenience, and the ſame may indubitably be ſaid of the *Dévanágarì* ſyſtem; which, as it is more naturally arranged than any other, ſhall here be the ſtandard of my particular obſervations on *Aſiatick* letters. Our *Engliſh* alphabet and orthography are diſgracefully and almoſt ridiculouſly imperfect; and it would be impoſſible to expreſs either *Indian*, *Perſian*, or *Arabian* words in *Roman* characters, as we are abſurdly taught to pronounce them; but a mixture of new characters would be inconvenient, and by the help of the diacritical marks uſed by the *French*, with a few of thoſe adopted in our own treatiſes on *fluxions*, we may apply our preſent alphabet ſo happily to the notation of all *Aſiatick* languages, as to equal the *Dévanágarì* itſelf in preciſion and clearneſs, and ſo regularly that any one, who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly tranſpoſe into them

all the proper names, appellatives, or cited paſſages, occurring in tracts of *Aſiatick* literature.

अ

This is the ſimpleſt element of articulation, or firſt *vocal* ſound, concerning which enough has been ſaid: the word *America* begins and ends with it; and its proper ſymbol therefore is A; though it may be often very conveniently expreſſed by E, for reaſons, which I ſhall preſently offer. In our own anomalous language we commonly mark this elementary ſound by our *fifth* vowel, but ſometimes expreſs it by a ſtrange variety both of vowels and diphthongs; as in the phraſe, *a mother bird flutters over her young*; an irregularity, which no regard to the derivation of words or to blind cuſtom can in any degree juſtify. The *Nágarì* letter is called *Acàr*, but is pronounced in *Bengal* like our *fourth* ſhort vowel, and in the *weſt* of *India*, like our *firſt*: in all the dialects properly *Indian* it is conſidered as *inherent* in every conſonant; and is placed laſt in the ſyſtem of the *Tibetians*, becauſe the letters, which include it, are firſt explained in their ſchools. If our double conſonants were invariably connected, as in *Sanſcrit*, it would certainly be the better way to omit the ſimple element, except when it begins a word. This letter anſwers to the *fat-bhab*, or *open* ſound of

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ

ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

क का कि की कु कू कृ कॄ

कॢ कॣ के कै को कौ कं कः

क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ

ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न

प फ ब भ म य र ल व श

ष स ह क्ष त्र

ا ب پ ت ث ج چ ح خ د ذ ر ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن و ه ی

ا ب پ ت ث ج چ ح خ د ذ ر ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن و ه ی

ا ب پ ت ث ج چ ح خ د ذ ر ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن و ه ی

ا ب پ ت ث ج چ ح خ د ذ ر ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن و ه ی

نَ نِ نُ اَنْ اَنَّ آنْ

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱ ۱۲ ۱۳ ۱۴ ۱۵ ۱۶ ۱۷ ۱۸ ۱۹ ۲۰

the *Arabs*, and, in ſome few words, to the *Zeber* of the *Perſians*, or an acute accent placed *above* the letter; but this *Arabian* mark, which was ſupplied in the *Pahlavi* by a diſtinct character, is more frequently pronounced at *Iſfahan* either like our *firſt* or our *ſecond* ſhort vowel, as in *chaſhm* and *ferzend*, and the diſtinction ſeems to depend, in general, on the nature of the conſonant, which follows it. Two of our letters, therefore, are neceſſary for the complete notation of the *acàr* and *zeber*; and thus we may be able occaſionally to avoid ridiculous or offenſive equivocations in writing Oriental words, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of the *Perſians*, which differs as widely from that of the *Munimans* in *India*, as the language of our Court at *St. James's* differs from that of the ruſticks in the *Gentle Shepherd*.

आ

When the *firſt* vowel, as the *Perſians* pronounce it in the word *bakht*, is doubled or prolonged as in *bákht*, it has the ſound of the ſecond *Nágarì* vowel, and of the firſt *Arabick* letter, that is, of our long vowel in *caſt*; but the *Arabs* deride the *Perſians* for their broad pronunciation of this letter, which in *Lòn* has always the ſound of our vowel in *call*, and is often ſo prolated, as to reſemble the *fourth* and even the *fifth* of our

long vowels. Its natural mark would be the ſhort A *doubled*; but an *acute* accent in the middle of words, or a *grave* at the end of them, will be equally clear, and conformable to the practice of poliſhed nations on the continent of *Europe*. The very broad ſound of the *Arabian* letter, which they call *extended*, and which the *Perſians* extend yet more, as in the word *ásàn*, may aptly enough be repreſented by the proſodial ſign, ſince it is conſtantly long; whereas the mark *hamzah* as conſtantly *ſhortens* the letter, and gives it the ſound of the point above, or below, it; as in the words *ósùl* and *Iſlàm*: the changes of this letter may perplex the learner, but his perplexity will ſoon vaniſh, as he advances. In writing *Aſiatick* names, we frequently confound the broad *à* with its correſpondent ſhort vowel, which we improperly expreſs by an O; thus we write *Coſſim* for *Káſim* in defiance of analogy and correctneſs. Our vowel in *ſond* occurs but ſeldom, if ever, in *Arabian*, *Indian*, or *Perſian* words: it is placed, nevertheleſs, in the general ſyſtem with the ſhort proſodial mark, and ſtands at the head of the vowels, becauſe it is in truth only a variation of the ſimple breathing.

Our *third* vowel, correctly pronounced, appears next in the *Nágarì* ſyſtem; for our *ſecond*

ſhort vowel has no place in it. This vocal ſound is repreſented in *Arabick* by an acute accent *under* the letter; which at *Mecca* has almoſt invariably the ſame pronunciation; but, ſince, in the *Zend*, a character like the *Greek E-pſilon* repreſents both our *ſecond* and *third* ſhort vowels, the *Perſians* often pronounce *zir* like *zeber*, calling this country *Hend*, and the natives of it *Hendùs:* nevertheleſs it will be proper to denote the *Sanſcrit icàr*, and the *Arabian caſr* by one unaltered ſymbol; as in the words *Indra* and *Imám*.

ऐ

The *third* vowel produced or lengthened is, for the reaſon before ſuggeſted, beſt marked by an accent either acute or grave, as in *Italian*:

Se cerca, ſe dice:
L'amico dov'è?
L'amico infelice,
Riſpondi, morì!
Ah! no; sì gran duolo
Non darle per me.
Riſpondi, ma ſolo:
Piangendo partì.

It was once my practice to repreſent this long vowel by two marks, as in the words *Lebeid* and *Deivàn*, to denote the *point* in *Arabick* as well as the letter above it; but my preſent

opinion is, that *Lebìd* and *Dìwàn* are more conformable to analogy, and to the *Italian* orthography, which of all *European* ſyſtems approaches neareſt to perfection.

ऽ

This is our *fifth* vowel; for our *fourth* ſhort one is, like our *ſecond*, rejected from the pure pronunciation of the *Sanſcrit* in the weſt of *India* and at *Bánáras*, though the *Bengaleſe* retain it in the firſt *Nágari* letter, which they call *ocàr:* to the notation of this ſound, our vowel in *full* and the *Perſian* in *gul* ſhould be conſtantly appropriated, ſince it is a ſimple articulation, and cannot without impropriety be repreſented by a double letter. It anſwers to *hu-pſilon*, and, like that, is often confounded with *iota:* thus *muſhc* has the ſound of *miſhc* among the modern *Perſians*, as *Numpha* was pronounced *Nympha* by the *Romans*. The *damm* of the *Arabs* is, however, frequently ſounded, eſpecially in *Perſia*, like our ſhort O in *memory*, and the choice of two marks for a variable ſound is not improper in itſelf, and will ſometimes be found very convenient.

ॐ

The ſame lengthened, and properly expreſſed by an accent, as in the word *virtù:* it is a very long vowel in *Perſian*, ſo as nearly to treble the

quantity of its correſpondent ſhort one; and this, indeed, may be obſerved of all the long vowels in the genuine *Iſfahâni* pronunciation; but the letter *vâù* is often redundant, ſo as not to alter the ſound of the ſhort vowel preceding it; as in *khóſh* and *khód:* it may, nevertheleſs, be right to expreſs that letter by an accent.

A vocal ſound peculiar to the *Sanſcrit* language: it is formed by a gentle vibration of the tongue preceding our *third* vowel pronounced *very ſhort*, and may be well expreſſed by the proſodial mark, as in *Rĭſhi*, a Saint. When it is connected with a conſonant, as in *Crĭſhna*, no part of it is uſed but the curve at the bottom. We have a ſimilar ſound in the word *merrily*, the ſecond ſyllable of which is much ſhorter than the firſt ſyllable of *riches*.

The ſame complex ſound conſiderably lengthened; and, therefore, diſtinguiſhable by the proſodial ſign of a *long* vowel.

In *Bengal*, where the *ra* is often ſunk in the pronunciation of compound ſyllables, this letter expreſſes both ſyllables of our word *lily*; but its

genuine ſound, I believe, is *lrĭ*, a ſhort triphthong peculiar to the *Sanſcrit* language.

ॠ

Whatever be the true pronunciation of the former ſymbol, this is only an elongation of it, and may, therefore, be diſtinguiſhed by the metrical ſign of a long vowel.

ऌ

Our *ſecond* long vowel, beſt repreſented, like the others, by an accent, as in *Vėda*, the ſacred book of the *Hindus*, which is a derivative from the *Sanſcrit* root *vid*, to *know*. The notation, which I recommend, will have this important advantage, that learned foreigners in *Europe* will in general pronounce the oriental words, expreſſed by it, with as much correctneſs and facility as our own nation.

ऐ

This is a diphthong compoſed of our *firſt* and *third* vowels, and expreſſible, therefore, by them, as in the word *Vaidya*, derived from *Vėda*, and meaning *a man of the medical caſt:* in *Bengal* it is pronounced as the *Greek* diphthong in *poimèn*, a ſhepherd, was probably founded in ancient *Greece*. The *Arabs* and the *Engliſh* articulate this compoſition exactly alike, though we are

pleaſed to expreſs it by a ſimple letter, which, on the continent of *Europe*, has its genuine ſound. In the mouth of an *Italian* the conſtituent vowels in the words *mai* and *miei* do not perfectly coaleſce, and, at the cloſe of a verſe, they are ſeparated; but a *Frenchman* and a *Perſian* would pronounce them nearly like the preceding long vowel; as in the word *Mai*, which at *Paris* means our month of the ſame name, and at *Iſfahan* ſignifies *wine*: the *Perſian* word, indeed, might with great propriety be written *mei*, as the diphthong ſeems rather to be compoſed of our *ſecond* and *third* ſhort vowels; a compoſition very common in *Italian* poetry.

Though a coalition of *acàr* and *ucàr* forms this ſound in *Sanſcrit*, as in the myſtical word *óm*, yet it is in fact a ſimple articulation, and the *fourth* of our long vowels.

Here, indeed, we meet with a proper diphthong, compounded of our *firſt* and *fifth* vowels; and in *Perſia* the conſtituent ſounds are not perfectly united; as in the word *Firdauſi*, which an *Italian* would pronounce exactly like a native of *Iſfahan*. Perhaps, in *Arabick* words, it may be proper to repreſent by an accent the letters *yà* and *wáw*, which, preceded by the

open vowel, form the reſpective diphthongs in *Zohaìr* and *Jaúberi*; but the omiſſion of this accent would occaſion little inconvenience.

ञ°

This is no vowel, but an abbreviation, at the end of a ſyllable, of the *naſal* conſonants: thus the *Portugueſe* write *Siaó* for *Siam* with a naſal termination; and the accurate M. D'ANVILLE expreſſes great unwillingneſs to write *Siam* for the country, and *Siamois* for the people of it, yet acknowledges his fear of innovating, 'notwithſtanding his attachment to the original and 'proper denominations of countries and places.' It appears to me, that the addition of a diſtinct letter *ga* would be an improper and inconvenient mode of expreſſing the naſal ſound, and that we cannot do better than adopt the *Indian* method of diſtinguiſhing it, in *Sanſcrit*, *Chineſe*, and *Perſian* words, by a point above the letter; as in *Sinha*, a lion, *Cánhì*, the name of an illuſtrious Emperor, and *Sámán*, a houſehold.

ञः

This too is an abbreviation or ſubſtitute, at the cloſe of a ſyllable, for the *ſtrong aſpirate*, and may be diſtinguiſhed in the middle of a word by a hyphen, as in *duh-c'ha*, pain, though it ſeems often to reſemble the *Arabian hà*, which gives only a more forcible ſound to the vowel,

which precedes it, as in *bhicmah*, ſcience. It is well known, that, when ſuch *Arabick* words are uſed in conſtruction, the *final* aſpirate of the firſt noun has the ſound of *tà*; but, as the letter remains unaltered, it ſhould, I think, be preſerved in our characters, and expreſſed either by two *points* above it, as in *Arabick*, or by an accentual mark; ſince if we write *Zubdahu'lmulc*, or, *the Flower of the Realm*, with a comma to denote the ſuppreſſion of the *álif*, every learner will know, that the firſt word ſhould be pronounced *Zubdat*. The *h* is often omitted by us, when we write *Perſian* in *Engliſh* letters, but ought invariably to be inſerted, as in *Sháhnámah*; ſince the aſpiration is very perceptibly ſounded in the true pronunciation of *dergáh*, *rúbáh*, and other ſimilar words. The *Sanſcrit* character before us has the ſingular property of being interchangeable, by certain rules, both with *ra*, and *ſa*; in the ſame manner as the *Sylva* of the *Romans* was formed from the *Æolick* word *hylva*, and as *arbos* was uſed in old *Latin* for *arbor*.

क

We come now to the firſt proper conſonant of the *Indian* ſyſtem, in which a ſeries of letters, formed in the throat near the root of the tongue, properly takes the lead. This letter has the ſound of our *k* and *c* in the words *king* and *cannibal*;

but there will be great convenience in expreſſing it uniformly by the *ſecond* of thoſe marks, whatever be the vowel following it. The *Arabs*, and perhaps all nations deſcended from SEM, have a remarkable letter ſounded near the palate with a hard preſſure, not unlike the cawing of a raven, as in the word *Káſim*; and for this particular ſound the redundance of our own alphabet ſupplies us with an uſeful ſymbol: the common people in *Hhejáz* and *Egypt* confound it, indeed, with the firſt letter of *Gabr*, and the *Perſians* only add to that letter the hard palatine ſound of the *Arabian kàf*; but, if we diſtinguiſh it invariably by *k*, we ſhall find the utility of appropriating our *c* to the notation of the *Indian* letter now before us. The third letter of the *Roman alphabet* was probably articulated like the *kappa* of the *Greeks*; and we may fairly ſuppoſe, that *Cicero* and *Cithara* were pronounced alike at *Rome* and at *Athens*: the *Welſh* apply this letter uniformly to the ſame ſound, as in *cae* and *ceſn*; and a little practice will render ſuch words as *citàb* and *cinnara* familiar to our eyes.

ঘ

We hear much of aſpirated letters; but the only proper *aſpirates* (thoſe I mean, in which a ſtrong breathing is diſtinctly heard after the conſonants) are to be found in the languages of *In-*

dia; unleſs the word *cachexy*, which our medical writers have borrowed from the *Greek*, be thought an exception to the rule: this aſpiration may be diſtinguiſhed by a *comma*, as the letter before us is expreſſed in the word *ċ'hanitra*, a *ſpade*. The *Arabian*, *Perſian*, and *Tuſcan* aſpirate, which is formed by a harſh protruſion of the breath, while the conſonant is roughly articulated near the root of the tongue, may be written as in the word *makhzen*, a *treaſury*.

ग़

Whatever vowel follow this letter, it ſhould conſtantly be expreſſed as in the words *gul*, a flower, and *gil*, clay; and we may obſerve, as before, that a little uſe will reconcile us to this deviation from our irregular ſyſtem. The *Germans*, whoſe pronunciation appears to be more conſiſtent than our own, would ſcarce underſtand the *Latin* name of their own country, if an *Engliſhman* were to pronounce it, as he was taught at ſchool.

ह

The proper aſpirate of the laſt letter, as in the word *Rag'huvanſa*: the *Perſians* and *Arabs* pronounce their *ghain* with a bur in the throat, and a tremulous motion of the tongue, which gives it a ſound reſembling that of *r*, as it is pronounced in *Northumberland*; but it is in truth a compound

guttural, though frequently expreſſed by a ſimple letter, as in *Gaza*, which ſhould be written *Ghazzah*, a city of *Paleſtine*, and in *gazelle*, as the *French* naturaliſts call the *ghazàl*, or antelope, of the *Arabians*. The *Perſian* word *míghh*, a cloud, is *mégh'ha* in *Sanſcrit*; as *míſh*, a ſheep, appears alſo to be derived from *méſha*, by that change of the long vowels, which generally diſtinguiſhes the *Iranian* from the *Indian* pronunciation.

ङ

This is the *naſal* palatine, which I have already propoſed to denote by a *point* above the letter *n*; ſince the addition of a *g* would create confuſion, and often ſuggeſt the idea of a different ſyllable. Thus ends the firſt ſeries of *Nágari* letters, conſiſting of the *hard* and *ſoft* guttural, each attended by its proper aſpirate, and followed by a *naſal* of the ſame claſs; which elegant arrangement is continued, as far as poſſible, through the *Sanſcrit* ſyſtem, and ſeems conformable to the beautiful analogy of nature.

ठ

The next is a ſeries of *compound* letters, as moſt grammarians conſider them, though ſome hold them to be ſimple ſounds articulated near the palate. The firſt of them has no diſtinct ſign in our own alphabet, but is expreſſed, as in the word *China*, by two letters, which are cer-

tainly not its component principles: it might, perhaps, be more properly denoted, as it is in the great work of M. D'HERBELOT, by *tſh*; but the inconvenience of retaining our own ſymbol will be leſs than that of introducing a new combination, or inventing, after the example of Dr. FRANKLIN, a new character. *China* is a *Sanſcrit* word; and it will be convenient ſo to write it, though I feel an inclination to expreſs it otherwiſe.

छ

The ſame compoſition with a ſtrong breathing articulated after it. Harſh as it may ſeem, we cannot, if we continue the former ſymbol, avoid expreſſing this ſound, as in the word *ch'handas*, metre.

ज

This too ſeems to have been conſidered by the *Hindus* as a ſimple palatine, but appears in truth to be the complex expreſſion of *dzh:* perhaps the ſame letter may, by a ſmall difference of articulation, partake of two different ſounds. This at leaſt we may obſerve, that the letter under conſideration is confounded, as a ſimple ſound, with *ya*, and, as a compound, with *za*, one of its conſtituents: thus the *yáſmìn* of *Arabia* is by us called *jaſmin*, while the ſame man is

Giorgi at *Rome* and *Zorzi* at *Venice*; or (to give an example of both in a ſingle word) *yug*, or *junction*, at *Bánáres*, is *jug* in *Bengal*, and was pronounced *zug*, or, in the nominative, *zugon* at *Athens*. We ſhould, however, invariably expreſs the letter before us by *ja*.

The *Arabian* letters *d'hald'*, *d'àd*, and *d'hà* are all pronounced in *Perſia* like *za*, with a ſort of liſp from an attempt to give them their genuine ſound: they may be well expreſſed as in fluxionary characters, by a ſeries of points above them, ż, ż, ż.

ঝ

The preceding letter aſpirated, as in the word *Jhaſha*, a fiſh.

ঞ

This is the *ſecond* naſal compoſed of the former and the letter *ya*. As the *Italian* word *agnello* and our *onion* contain a compoſition of *n* and *y*, they ſhould regularly be written *anyello* and *onyon*; and the *Indian* ſound differs only in the greater naſality of the firſt letter, which may be diſtinguiſhed, as before, by a *point*. A very uſeful *Sanſcrit* root, ſignifying *to know*, begins with the letter *ja* followed by this compound *naſal*, and ſhould be written *jnyà*; whence *jnyána*, knowledge; but this harſh combination is in

Bengal ſoftened into *gyà:* it is expreſſed by a diſtinct character, which ſtands laſt in the plate annexed *.

In the curious work entitled *Tohfahu'l Hind*, or *The Preſent of* INDIA, this is the *fourth* ſeries of *Sanſcrit* letters; but in general it has the *third* rank, more agreeably, I think, to the analogy of the ſyſtem. This claſs is pronounced with an inflexion of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, which gives an obtuſe ſound to the conſonant, and may be diſtinguiſhed by an accent above it. The firſt is the INDIAN *ṭa*, as in the word *cóṭ'ara*, a rotten tree, and is commonly expreſſed in *Perſian* writings by *four* points, but would be better marked by the ARABIAN *tà*, which it very nearly reſembles.

The ſame with a ſtrong breathing after it, as in *Vaicunṭ'ha*, or *unwearied*, an epithet of *Viſhnu*.

A remarkable letter, which the *Muſlimans* call the INDIAN *dàl*; and expreſs alſo by four points over it; but it ſhould, by analogy to the others, be diſtinguiſhed by an accentual mark as in the word *daṇ'da*, puniſhment. When the

* Plate II.

tongue is inverted with a ſlight vibratory motion, this letter has a mixture of the *ra*, with which it is often, but incorrectly, confounded; as in the common word *ber* for *bera*, great. It reſembles the ARABIAN *d'ád*.

ढ

The preceding letter aſpirated, as in *D'hácà*, improperly pronounced *Dacca*. In the ſame manner may be written the ARABIAN *d'há*, but without the comma, ſince its aſpirate is leſs diſtinctly heard than in the *Indian* ſound.

ण

This is the *naſ'al* of the third ſeries, and formed by a ſimilar inverſion of the tongue: in *Sanſcrit* words it uſually follows the letters *ra* and *ſha* (as in *Bráhmen'a*, derived from *Brahman'*, the Supreme Being; *Viſhn'u*, a name of his *preſerving* power); or precedes the other letters of the third claſs.

त

Here begins the *fourth* ſeries, on which we have little more to remark. The firſt letter of this claſs is the common *ta*, or *hard* dental, if it may not rather be conſidered as a *lingual*.

थ

Its aſpirate, which ought to be written with a comma, as in the word *Aſwatt'ha*, the *Indian*

fig-tree, leſt it be confounded by our countrymen with the *Arabian* ſound in *thurayyà*, the *Pleiads*, which is preciſely the *Engliſh* aſpiration in *think*; a ſound, which the *Perſians* and *French* cannot eaſily articulate: in *Perſian* it ſhould be expreſſed by *s* with a point above it.

द

The *ſoft* dental in *Dévatà*, or *Deity*.

ध

The ſame aſpirated as in *D'herma*, juſtice, virtue, or piety. We muſt alſo diſtinguiſh this letter by a comma from the *Arabian* in *dhahab*, gold; a ſound of difficult articulation in *France* and *Perſia*, which we write *thus* very improperly, inſtead of retaining the genuine *Angloſaxon* letter, or expreſſing it, as we might with great convenience, *dhus*.

न

The ſimple *naſal*, ſounded by the teeth with a little aſſiſtance from the noſtrils, but not ſo much as in many *French* and *Perſian* words. Both this *naſal* and the former occur in the name *Nárávena*, or *dwelling in water*.

प

Next come the *labials* in the ſame order; and firſt the hard labial *pa*, formed by a ſtrong compreſſion of the lips; which ſo ill ſuits the

configuration of an *Arabian* mouth, that it cannot be articulated by an *Arab* without much effort.

ফ

The proper aſpirate of *pa*, as in the word *ſhepherd*, but often pronounced like our *fa*, as in *fela*, inſtead of *p'hela*, fruit. In truth the *fa* is a diſtinct letter; and our *pha*, which in *Engliſh* is redundant, ſhould be appropriated to the notation of this *Indian* labial.

ব

The *ſoft* labial in *Budd'ha*, wiſe, and the ſecond letter in moſt alphabets uſed by *Europeans*; which begin with a vowel, a labial, a palatine, and a lingual: it ought ever to be diſtinguiſhed in *Nágarì* by a tranſverſe bar, though the copyiſts often omit this uſeful diſtinction.

ভ

The *Indian* aſpirate of the preceding letter, as in the word *bhájhá*, or a *ſpoken* dialect. No comma is neceſſary in this notation, ſince the ſound of *bha* cannot be confounded with any in our own language.

ম

This is the laſt naſal, as in *Menu*, one of the firſt created beings according to the *Indians*: it

is formed by cloſing the lips entirely, whilſt the breath paſſes gently through the noſe; and here ends the regular arrangement of the *Nágarì* letters. Another ſeries might have been added, namely, *ſa*, *ſha*, *za*, *zha*, which are in the ſame proportion as *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and the reſt; but the two laſt ſounds are not uſed in *Sanſcrit*.

য

Then follows a ſet of letters approaching to the nature of vowels: the firſt of them ſeems in truth to be no more than our *third* ſhort vowel beginning a diphthong, and may, therefore, be thought a ſuperfluous character: ſince this union, however, produces a kind of conſonant articulated near the palate, it is ranked by many among the conſonants, and often confounded with *ja*: hence *Yamunà*, a ſacred river in *India*, called alſo the *Daughter of the Sun*, is written *Jomanes* by the *Greeks*, and *Jumnà*, leſs properly, by the *Engliſh*.

ব

The two liquids *na* and *ma*, one of which is a lingual and the other a labial, are kept apart, in order to preſerve the analogy of the ſyſtem; and the other two are introduced between the two ſemivowels: the firſt of theſe is *ra*, as in RA'MA, the conqueror of *Silàn*.

ল

The ſecond is *la*, in *Lanca*, another name of that iſland both in *Tibat*, and in *India*. A defect in the organs of the common *Bengaleſe* often cauſes a confuſion between theſe two liquids, and even the ſound of *na* is frequently ſubſtituted for the letter before us.

ব

When this character correſponds, as it ſometimes does in *Sanſcrit*, with our *wa*, it is in fact our *fifth ſhort* vowel preceding another in forming a diphthong, and might eaſily be ſpared in our ſyſtem of letters; but, when it has the ſound of *va*, it is a labial formed by ſtriking the lower lip againſt the upper teeth, and might thus be arranged in a ſeries of proportionals, *pa*, *fa*, *ba*, *va*. It cannot eaſily be pronounced in this manner by the inhabitants of *Bengal* and ſome other provinces, who confound it with *ba*, from which it ought carefully to be diſtinguiſhed; ſince we cannot conceive, that in ſo perfect a ſyſtem as the *Sanſcrit*, there could ever have been two ſymbols for the ſame ſound. In fact the *Montes Parveti* of our ancient Geographers were ſo named from *Parveta*, not *Parbeta*, a mountain. The *wáw* of the *Arabs* is always a vowel, either ſeparate or coaleſcing with another in the form of a diphthong; but in *Perſian*

words it is a conſonant, and pronounced like our *va*, though with rather leſs force.

শ

Then follow three *ſibilants*, the firſt of which is often, very inaccurately, confounded with the ſecond, and even with the third: it belongs to that claſs of conſonants, which, in the notation here propoſed, are expreſſed by acute accents above them to denote an inverſion of the tongue towards the palate, whence this letter is called in *India* the *palatine ſa*. It occurs in a great number of words, and ſhould be written as in *paláśa*, the name of a ſacred tree with a very brilliant flower. In the ſame manner may be noted the *śàd* of the *Arabs* and *Hebrews*, which laſt it reſembles in ſhape, and probably reſembled in ſound; except that in *Caśmír* and the provinces bordering on *Perſia* it is hardly diſtinguiſhable from the following letter.

ষ

The *ſecond* is improperly written *ſha* in our *Engliſh* ſyſtem, and *cha*, ſtill more erroneouſly, in that of the *French*; but the form generally known may be retained, to avoid the inconvenience of too great a change even from wrong to right. This letter, of which *ſa* and *ha* are not the component parts, is formed ſo far back in the head, that the *Indians* call it a *cere-*

bral: either it was not articulated by the *Greeks,* or they choſe to expreſs it by their *Xi*; ſince of the *Perſian* word *Ardaſhìr* they have formed *Artaxerxes.*

स

The dental *ſa,* which reſembles the *Hebrew* letter of the ſame ſound, and, like that, is often miſtaken by ignorant copyiſts for the *ma.*

ह

The ſtrong breathing *ha,* but rather miſplaced in the *Nágarì* ſyſtem; ſince it is the ſecond element of articulate ſounds: the *very* hard breathing of the *Arabs* may be well expreſſed by doubling the mark of aſpiration, as in *Muhhammed,* or by an accent above it in the manner of the long vowels, as in *Ah'med.*

क्ष

The *Indian* ſyſtem of letters cloſes with a compound of *ca* and *ſha,* as in the word *paríc-ſhà,* ordeal: it is analogous to our *x,* a ſuperfluous character, of no uſe, that I know of, except in algebra. The *Bengaleſe* give it the ſound of *cya,* or of our *k* in ſuch words as *kind* and *ſky*; but we may conclude, that the other pronunciation is very ancient, ſince the old *Perſians* appear to have borrowed their word *Racſhah* from the *Racſha,* or *demon* of the *Hindus,* which is written with the letter before us. The *Greeks*

rendered this letter by their *Khi*, changing *Dac-ſhin*, or the ſouth, into *Dakhin*.

All the ſounds uſed in *Sanſcrit*, *Arabick*, *Perſian*, and *Hindì*, are arranged ſyſtematically in the table prefixed to this diſſertation *; and the ſingular letter of the *Arabs*, which they call *áin*, is placed immediately before the conſonants. It might have been claſſed, as the modern *Jews* pronounce it, among the ſtrong *naſals* of the *Indians*; but, in *Arabia* and *Perſia*, it has a very different ſound, of which no verbal deſcription can give an idea, and may not improperly be called a *naſal vowel:* it is uniformly diſtinguiſhed by a *circumflex* either above a ſhort vowel or over the letter preceding a long one, as *ílm*, learning, *áálim*, learned.

Agreeably to the preceding analyſis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *Engliſh* orthography, I ſhould write *Addiſon's* deſcription of the angel in the following manner, diſtinguiſhing the *ſimple breathing*, or firſt element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our firſt or ſecond vowel:

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain cămánd,
Widh raiſin tempeſts ſhécs a gilti land,
Sch az ăv lét ór pél Britanya páſt,
Cálm and firín hi draivz dhi fyúryas bláſt,
And, plíz'd dh'álmaitiz árderz tu perfórm,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and dairects dhi ſtárm.

* Plate I.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchſtone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would inſtantly detect; as in the firſt couplet of this deſcription, and even in the laſt, according to the common pronunciation of the word *perform.* I cloſe this paper with ſpecimens of oriental writing, not as fixed ſtandards of orthography, which no individual has a right to ſettle, but as examples of the method, which I recommend; and, in order to relieve the dryneſs of the ſubject, I annex tranſlations of all but the firſt ſpecimen, which I reſerve for another occaſion.

I.

Four Diſtichs from the SRIBHA'GAWAT *.

Mr. WILKINS's Orthography.

ăhămĕvāsămĕvāgrĕ nānyădyăt sădăsăt părăm
păſchādahăm yădĕtăchchă yōyăsĕĕſhyĕtă sōſmyăhăm

rĕĕtĕrthăm yăt prătēēyĕtă nă prătēēyĕtă chātmănĕĕ
tădvĕĕdyād ātmănō māyām yăthā bhāſō yăthā tămăh

yăthā mahāntĕĕ bhōōtānĕĕ bhōōtĕĕſhōōchchāvăchĕĕſhwănōō
prāvĕĕſhtānyāprāvĕĕſhtānĕĕ tăthā tĕſhōō nătĕſhwāhăm

ēvāmĕvājĕĕjnāsyātmănăh sărvă jĕĕjnāsōōnātmămăh
ănwăyă vyătĕĕrĕkābhyām yăt ſyāt sărvătră sărvădā.

* See Plate IV. The Letters are in Plate II.

श्रीभगवानुवाच

अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यद्यत् सदसत् परम्
पश्चादहं यदेतच्च योवशिष्येत सोस्म्यहम्

ऋतेर्थं यत् प्रतीयेत न प्रतीयेतचात्मनि
तद्विद्यादात्मनो मायां यथा भासो यथा तमः

यथा महांति भूतानि भूतेषूच्चावचेष्वनु
प्रविष्टान्यप्रविष्टानि तथा तेषुन तेष्वहं

एतावदेव जिज्ञास्यं तत्त्व जिज्ञासुनात्मनः
अन्वय व्यतिरेकाभ्यां यत् स्यात् सर्वत्रसर्वदा

This wonderful paſſage I ſhould expreſs in the following manner:

ahaméváſaméválgrè nányadyat ſadaſat param
pas'chádaham yadétachcha yóvas'iſhyéta ſófmyaham

rítért'ham yat pratíyéta na pratíyéta chátmani
tadvidyádátmanó máyám yat'hà bháſó yat'hà tamah

yat'hà mahánti bhútáni bhútéſhúchchávachéſhwanu
praviſh'tányapraviſh táni tat'hà téſhu na téſhwaham

étávadéva jijnyáſyam tattwa jijnyáſunátmanah
anwaya vyatirécábhyám yat ſyát ſervatra ſervadà.

II.

Mo'ha Mudgara.

The title of this fine piece properly ſignifies *The Mallet of Deluſion* or *Folly*, but may be tranſlated *A Remedy for Diſtraction of Mind:* it is compoſed in regular anapæſtick verſes according to the ſtricteſt rules of *Greek* proſody, but in rhymed couplets, two of which here form a *s'lóca.*

মূঢ়জহীহিধনাগমতৃষ্ণাং কুরুতনুবুদ্ধিমনঃ সুবিতৃষ্ণাং।
যল্লভসেনিজকর্ম্মোপাত্তং বিত্তং তেনবিনোদয়চিত্তং॥

কাতবকান্তাকস্তেপুত্রঃ সংসারোয়মতীববিচিত্রঃ।
কস্যত্বং বাকুতআয়াতস্তত্ত্বং চিন্তয়তদিদং ভ্রাতঃ॥

মাদ্দবৰ্ধনজনযৌবনগৰ্ব্বং হৰতিনিমেষাৎকালঃ সর্ব্বং ।
মায়ামযমিদমখিলং হিত্বাব্রহ্মপদং প্রবিশাশুবিদিত্বা ॥

নলিনীদলগতজলবত্তরলং তদ্বজ্জীবনমতিশযচপলং ।
ক্ষণমিহসজ্জনসঙ্গতিরেকাভবতিভবার্ণবতরণেনৌকা ॥

যাবজ্জনং ভবন্মরণং ভাবজ্জননীজঠরেশযনং ।
ইতিসংসারেস্ফুটতরদোষঃ কথমিহমানবতবসন্তোষঃ ॥

দিনযামিন্যৌসাযং প্রাতঃ শিশিরবসন্তৌপুনরাযাতঃ ।
কালঃ ক্রীড়তিগচ্ছত্যাযুস্তদপিনমুঞ্চত্যাশাবাযুঃ ॥

অঙ্গং গলিতং পলিতং মুণ্ডং দশনবিহীনং জাতং তুণ্ডং ।
করধৃতকম্পিতশোভিতদণ্ডং তদপিনমুঞ্চত্যাশাভাণ্ডং ॥

সুরবরমন্দিরতরুতলবাসঃ শয্যাভূতলমজিনং বাসঃ ।
সর্ব্বপরিগ্রহভোগত্যাগঃ কস্যসুখং নকরোতিবিরাগঃ ॥

শত্রৌমিত্রেপুত্রেবন্ধৌমাকুরুযত্নং বিগ্রহসন্ধৌ ।
ভবসমচিত্তঃ সর্ব্বত্রত্বং বাঞ্ছস্যচিরাদ্যদিবিষ্ণুত্বং ॥

মূঢ়জহীহি ধনাগমতৃষ্ণাং
কুরু তনুবুদ্ধিমনঃ সুবিতৃষ্ণাং ।
যল্লভসে নিজকর্ম্মোপাত্তং
বিত্তং তেন বিনোদয় চিত্তং ॥

কা তব কান্তা কস্তে পুত্রঃ
সংসারোঽয়মতীববিচিত্রঃ
কস্য ত্বং বা কুত আয়াতা
তত্ত্বং চিন্তয় তদিদং ভ্রাতঃ ॥

মা কুরু ধনজনযৌবনগর্ব্বং
হরতি নিমেষাৎ কালঃ সর্ব্বং
মায়ামযমিদমখিলং হিত্বা
ব্রহ্মপদং প্রবিশাশু বিদিত্বা ॥

múd'ha jahíhi dhanágamatrishńám
curu tenubuddhimanah ſuvitrishńám
yallabhaſè nijacarmópáttam
vittam téna vinódaya chittam.

cá tava cántà caſtè putrah
ſanſcáróyam atívavichittrah
caſya twam và cuta áyáta
ſtattwam chintaya tadidam bhrátah.

má curu dhanajanayauvanagarvam
harati niméſhát calah ſarvam
máyámayamidamac'hilam hitwà
brehmapadam previsáśu viditwà.

nalinídalagatajalavattaralam
tadvajjívanamatis'aya chapalam
cſhenamiha ſajjana ſangatirécà
bhawati bhawárnavataranè naucà.

angam galitam palitam mund'am
dantavihin'am játam tund'am
caradhr'itacampitas'óbhitadand'am
tadapi namunchatyás'a bhánd'am.

yávajjananam távanmaran'am
távajjananì jat'harè s'ayanam
iti ſanſárè ſp'hut atára dóſhah
cat'hamiha mánava tava ſantóſhah.

dinayáminyau ſáyam prátah
s'is iravaſantau punaráyátah
cálah crid'ati gach'hatyáyu
ſtadapi na munchatyás áváyuh.

ſuravaramandiratarutalaváſah
s'ayyà bhútalamajinam váſah
ſervaparigrahabhogatyágah
caſya ſuc'ham na caróti virágah.

s'atrau mitrè putrè bandhau
mà curu yatnam vigrahaſandhau
bhava ſamachittah ſervatra twam
vánch'haſyachirád yadi viſhnutwam.

aſh'taculáchalaſeptaſamúdrá
brehmapurandaradinacararudráh
natwam náham náyam lóca
ſtadapi cimart'ham criyatè s'ócah.

twayi mayi chányatraicò viſhnur
vyart'ham cupyaſi mayyaſahiſhnuh
ſervam pas'yátmanyátmánam
ſervatrótſrija bhédajnyánam.

válaſtávat crid'ás'acta
ſtarun'aſtávat tarúnìractah
vriddhaſtávach chintámagnah
peremé brahman'i cópi nalagnah.

dwádas'a pajj'hat'icábhiras'éſhah
s'iſhyánam cat'hitóbhyupadés'ah
yéſhám naiſha caróti vivécam
téſhàm cah curutámatirécam.

A verbal Tranſlation.

1. Reſtrain, deluded *mortal*, thy thirſt of acquiring wealth; excite an averſion *from it* in *thy* body, underſtanding, and inclination: with the riches, which thou acquireſt by thy own actions, with theſe gratify thy ſoul.

2. Who *is* thy wife; who thy ſon; how extremely wonderful is even this world; whoſe *creature* thou alſo *art*; whence thou cameſt—meditate on this, O brother, *and again* on this.

3. Make no boaſt of opulence, attendants, youth; all *theſe* time ſnatches away in the twinkling of an eye: checking all this illuſion like *Máyà*, ſet thy heart on the foot of BRAHME, ſpeedily gaining knowledge of him.

4. As a drop of water moves tremulous on the lotos-leaf, thus *is* human life inexpreſſibly ſlippery: the company of the virtuous *endures* here but for a moment; that is our ſhip in paſſing the ocean of the world.

5. The body *is* tottering; the head, grey; the mouth, toothleſs: the delicate ſtaff trembles in the hand, which holds it: ſtill the flaggon of covetouſneſs remains unemptied.

6. How ſoon *are we* born! how ſoon dead! how long lying in the mother's womb! How great is the prevalence of vice in this world! Wherefore, O man, haſt thou complacency here below?

7. Day and night, evening and morning, winter and ſpring depart and return: time ſports, life paſſes on; yet the wind of expectation continues unreſtrained.

8. To dwell under the manſion of the high Gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a couch, and a hide for veſture; to renounce all extrinſick enjoyments,—whom doth not ſuch devotion fill with delight?

9. Place not thy affections too ſtrongly on foe or friend, on a ſon or a kinſman, in war or in peace: be thou even-minded towards all, if thou deſireſt ſpeedily to attain the nature of VISHNU.

مَا أَنسَ لَا أَنسَ الَّتِي ... جَادَتْ إِلَيَّ عَلَى جَدَرْ

النَّوْمُ أَثْقَلَ جَفْنَهَا ... وَالْقَلْبُ طَارَ بِهِ الذَّعَرْ

رَصَدَتْ أَسَاوِدَ فَوْقَهَا ... فَتَحَلَّسَتْ مِنْهَا الْغُرَرْ

تَرَعَتْ خَلَا خِيلًا لَهَا ... الْأَنْفَاجُهَا شُذُرْ

تَشْكُو الطَّرِيقَ لِظُلْمَةٍ ... فَقَدَتْ بِهَا نَجْمَ السَّحَرْ

فِي لَيْلَةٍ قَدْ كَمَلَتْ ... بِسَوَادِ جَفْنِ الْقَمَرْ

وَتَرَى الْغَمَامَ كَأَجْمُلٍ ... تَرْعَى النُّجُومَ عَلَى أَشَرْ

تَبْكِي عُيُونٌ لِلسَّمَاءِ ... عَلَى حَدَائِقِهَا الزُّهَرْ

وَالْبَرْقُ يَبْسِمُ ثَغْرُهُ ... عَجَبًا لِهَاتِيكَ الْغِيَرْ

وَالرَّمْلُ كَادَ يُحَرِّقُ ... الْأَضْمَاخَ فِي صُرِّ الْمَجَرْ

فَهَوَتْ تُعَانِقُنِي وَقَدْ ... حَذِرَتْ عِنَاقِي مِنْ خَفَرْ

وَالدَّمْعُ بَلَّ خُدُودَهَا ... وَسَقَى رِيَاضًا لِلنَّظَرْ

وَتَنَفَّسَتْ إِذْ كَلَّمَتْ ... وَرَمَتْ فُؤَادِي بِالشَّرَرْ

قَالَتْ تُعَاتِبُنِي عَلَى ... أَنْ جَدَّ لِي عَزْمُ السَّفَرْ

قَالَتْ أَذِبْتَ فُؤَادَنَا ... وَأَذَقْتَهُ حَرَّ سَقَرْ

تَعْصِي أَوَامِرَ لِلْهَوَى ... وَتُطِيعُ نَاصِحَكَ الْغُدَرْ

وَتَدُورُ مِنْ أَرْضٍ إِلَى ... أَرْضٍ وَمَا تَرْضَى الْمَقَرْ

يَوْمًا تَسِيرُ بِكَ الْمِحَارُ ... وَتَارَةً تُرْمَى بِبَرْ

مَاذَا أَفَادَكَ جَوْلَةٌ ... حَوْلَ الْبِلَادِ سِوَى الضَّجَرْ

أَأَلِفْتَ أَطْمَاءَ الْفَلَا ... وَنَسِيتَ أَرْآمَ النَّشَرْ

10. Eight original mountains, and ſeven ſeas, BRAHME, INDRA, the Sun, and RUDRA, *theſe are permanent:* not thou, not I, not this or that people; wherefore then ſhould anxiety be raiſed *in our minds?*

11. In thee, in me, in every other being *is* VISHNU; fooliſhly art thou offended with me, not bearing my approach: ſee every ſoul in thy own ſoul; in all places lay aſide a notion of diverſity.

12. The boy ſo long delights in his play; the youth ſo long purſues his damſel; the old man ſo long broods over uneaſineſs; *that* no one meditates on the Supreme Being.

13. This is the inſtruction of learners delivered in twelve diſtinct ſtanzas: what more can be done with ſuch, as this work fills not with devotion?

III.

The following elegy, which is choſen as a ſpecimen of *Arabick* *, was compoſed by a learned Philoſopher and Scholar, MIR MUHAMMED HUSAIN, before his journey to *Haidarábàd* with RICHARD JOHNSON, Eſq.

má ánſa lá ánſa állati
jáat tláyya álai hadhar

* Plate V. and Plate III.

álnaúmu áthkala jafnahá
waálkalbu t'ára bihi áldhaár
ras'adat ásáwida kaúmihá
fatakhallaſat minhá álgharar
nazaát khalákhilán' lebá
állá tufájihá biſhar
teſhcú álť arika lid'hulmahiw
fakadat bihá najma álſahhar
fi lailahiń kad cahhalat
biſawádihá jafna álkamar
wa teraí álghamáma caájmuliń
terái álnajúma álaí áſhar
tebcí úyúnon' lilſemái
álaí hadáyikihá álzuhar
waálberku yebſimu thegruhu
ájabáń' lihática álghiyar
waálrádu cáda yukharriku
álás'mákha fi s'ummi álh'ajar
fahawat tuáánikuní wakad
h'adharat ináki min khafar
waáldemú bella khudúdahá
waſakai riyad'áń' lilnad'har
wateneffaſat id'h callamat
waramat fuwádi biálſherar
d'hallat tuáátibunei álai
án jedda lí ázmu álſafar
kálat ádhabta fuwádaná
waádhaktahu h'erra álſakar

taáśi áwámera lilhawai
watuťúu náśihťaca álghudar
wateáúru min árďiń ílai
árďiń wamá terďái álmekarr
yaúmán tesiru bica álbihhárú
watárahťan turmai bibarr
má dhá áfádaca jaúlahow
hťaúla álbiládi ſiwai áldajar
aáliſta áďhbaa álfelá
wanesita áráma álbáſher
ám kad melelta jiwáraná
yá wáihťa khillin kad nafar
fárhťem álai kalbi álladhi
ráma álſuluwwa wamá kadar.

The Tranſlation.

1. Never, oh! never ſhall I forget the fair one, who came to my *tent* with timid circumſpection:

2. Sleep ſat heavy on her eye-lids, and her heart fluttered with fear.

3. She had marked the dragons of her tribe (the *ſentinels)*, and had diſmiſſed all dread of danger from them:

4. She had laid aſide the rings, which uſed to grace her ankles; leſt the ſound of them ſhould expoſe her to calamity:

5. She deplored the darkneſs of the way, which hid from her the morning-ſtar.

6. It was a night, when the eye-laſhes of the moon were tinged with the black powder *(Alcohol)* of the gloom:

7. *A night*, in which thou mighteſt have ſeen the clouds, like camels, eagerly grazing on the ſtars;

8. While the eyes of heaven wept on the bright borders of the ſky;

9. The lightning diſplayed his ſhining teeth, with wonder at this change *in the firmament*;

10. And the thunder almoſt burſt the ears of the deafened rocks.

11. She was deſirous of embracing me, but, through modeſty, declined my embrace.

12. Tears bedewed her cheeks, and, to my eyes, watered a bower of roſes.

13. When ſhe ſpake, her panting ſighs blew flames into my heart.

14. She continued expoſtulating with me on my exceſſive deſire of travel.

15. 'Thou haſt melted my heart, ſhe ſaid, 'and made it feel inexpreſſible anguiſh.

16. 'Thou art perverſe in thy conduct to her 'who loves thee, and obſequious to thy guileful 'adviſer.

17. 'Thou goeſt round from country to 'country, and art never pleaſed with a fixed 'reſidence.

18. 'One while the ſeas roll with thee; and, 'another while, thou art agitated on the ſhore.

19. 'What fruit, but painful fatigue, can ariſe 'from rambling over foreign regions?

20. 'Haſt thou aſſociated thyſelf with the 'wild antelopes of the deſert, and forgotten the 'tame deer?

21. 'Art thou weary then of our neighbour-'hood? O wo to him, who flees from his be-'loved!

22. 'Have pity at length on my afflicted 'heart, which ſeeks relief, and cannot obtain 'it.'

Each couplet of the original conſiſts of two *Dimeter Iambicks*, and muſt be read in the proper cadence.

IV.

As a ſpecimen of the old *Perſian* language and character, I ſubjoin a very curious paſſage from the *Zend*, which was communicated to me by BAHMAN the ſon of BAHRA'M, a native of *Yezd*, and, as his name indicates, a *Pársì*: he wrote the paſſage from memory; ſince his books in *Pahlavi* and *Derì* are not

yet brought to *Bengal.* It is a ſuppoſed anſwer of I'ZAD or GOD to ZERA'HTUSHT, who had aſked by what means mankind could attain happineſs.

Az pid u mád che ce pid u mád ne khoſhnúd bìd hargiz bibiſht ne vìnìd; be jáyi cirfah bizah vìnìd: mehán rà be ázarm nic dárìd, cehán rà be hich gúnah mayázárìd: aj khíſhávendi derviſh nang medárid: dád u vendád i kháliki yectà beh càr dárid; az riſtákhizi ten pasín endíſheh nemáyìd; mabádá ce aſhù ten khíſh rà dúzakhi cunìd, va ánche be khíſhten naſháhad be caſán mapaſendìd va ma cunìd: herche be gitì cunìd be mainù az aúeh pazírah áyed *.

A Verbal Tranſlation.

" If you do that with which your father and mother are not pleaſed, you ſhall never ſee heaven; inſtead of good ſpirits, you ſhall ſee evil beings: behave with honeſty and with reſpect to the great; and on no account injure the mean: hold not your poor relations a reproach to you: imitate the juſtice and goodneſs of the Only Creator: meditate on the reſurrection of the future body; leſt you make your ſouls and bodies the inhabitants of hell; and whatever

* Plate VII. The *Zend* Letters are in Plate III.

در عرب هر طرفي غوغا شد نقل او نقل مجالس ها شد

بد امیري بعرب والا شان صاحب مکنت وثروت بجهان

ترکتاز غم هجران دیده پرکال داغ محبت چیده

دیده در طفلی خود سوز فراق تاختي زهر فراقش بمذاق

یافت چون قصهٔ آن درد سکال کرد فرمان بغلامي در حال

که سوي نجد قدم ساز ز سر شو به تعجیل روان چون صرصر

آنکه دلبرده زمجنون بنگاه بهرم زود بیاور همراه

رفت و آورد غلامک در حال لیلي آن پادشه ملک جمال

بغلامي دگرش شد فرمان که تو هم شو بسوي دشت روان

جانب زینت ارباب جنون شمع پر نور محبت مجنون

زود آور برم آن سوخته را آن جگر سوز غم اندوخته را

رفت و برگشت غلامک چونگاه والي کشور عشقش همراه

کرد اورا چونظر مرد امیر دید زاری بغم عشق اسیر

برسرش مشخص جنون کرده وطن زخم هجران به تنش پیراهن

موی سر بربدنش کشته قبا موزه از آبلهٔ پا بر پا

شانه از خار مغیلان بر موش خرقه از ریگ بیابان بر دوش

گفت کای گم شدهٔ وادی غم هیچ خواهی که تمنّات دهم

سر فرازت کنم از مکنت وجاه لیلی آرم ببرت خاطر خواه

گفت نی نی که بعید است بعید ذره را هم نظری با خورشید

گفت خواهی که کنی راست یکو سیر آن صفحهٔ رخسار نکو

یا نداری بجمالش میلی راست بر گوی بجان لیلی

گفت کای قدوهٔ ارباب کرم ذره خاک درت تاج سرم

بر دلم درد زلیلی کافی است خواهش وصل زلیلی الصافی است

بهر خورسندی این جزو حقیر بس بود پرتوی از مهر منیر

گفت و کرد سوی دشت روان دیدهٔ گریان و مژهٔ اشک فشان

Shirmaſti ſeri piſtáni álem
pervereſh yáftehi dámeni ghem
ābi rang ò rokhi lailáyi jonùn
kháli rokhſárehi hámún Mejnún
yáft chún ráh bi cáſhánehi iſhk
āſtán ſhud bideri kháneh iſhk
ber ſereſh ſhakhs'i jonùn ſáyah ficand
kis's'ehi ááſhikì áſh gaſht boland
der árab her t'araf'i ghaughà ſhud
nakli ù nokli mejális-hà ſhud
bùd ámírì biárab válà ſhàn
*s'ah'ibi micnat ò ſervat * bijehàn*
torc tázi ghemi hejrán dídah
pur guli dághi moh'abbat chídah
dídah der t'iſliyi khód súzi ferák
talkhiyi zahri ferákeſh bimezák
yáft chun kis's'ehi ān derd ſigál
card fermán bighulámì der h'ál
ceh súyì najd kadam ſáz zi ſer.
ſhau beh tájíl ravàn chùn s'ers'er
ān ceh dil bordah zi Mejnùn bi nigàh
beh berem zúd biyáver hemràh
raft ò āvard ghulámac der h'ál
Lailì ān pádiſhahi mulci jemál

* The reader will ſupply the point over *s*, when it ſtands for *th*.

beh ghulámì digareſh ſhud fermán
ceh tò hem ſhau bi súyì daſht raván
jánibi zínati árbábi jonún
ſhemî pur núri moh'abbat Mejnùn
zùd āver berem ān súkhtah rà
ān jigarsúzi ghem ándúkhtah rà
raft ò bergaſht ghulámac chú nigáh
váliyi ciſhvari îſhkeſh hemráh
card úrà chú nazar mardi ámír
díd zárì bi ghemi îſhk ásìr
ber ſereſh ſhakhs'i jonùn cardah vat'en
zakhmi hejràn bi teneſh pírában
múyi ſer ber bedeneſh gaſhtah kobà
múzah áz ābilahi pà ber pà
ſhánah áz khárì mughílán ber mùſh
khirkah áz rígi biyábán ber dúſh
goft cáì gomſhudahi vádiyi ghem
hích khwábì ceh temennát dehem
ſerferázat cunam áz micnat ó jáh
Laílì ārem biberet khát'er khwáh
goft nì nì ceh baílideſt baíid
zerreh rā hem nazarì bà khorſhíd
goft khwábì ceh conì ráſt bigú
ſaíri ān s'afh'ahi rokhſári nicú
yá nedárì bijemáleſh maíl
ráſt bergúyi bi jáni Laílì

goſt cái kodvahi árbábi cerem
zerrahi kháci deret táji ſerem
ber dilem derd zi Lailì cáfiſt
khwáheſhi vasl zi bí inſáfiſt
bahri khorſendiyi in jozvi b'akír
bas buvad pertavì áz mihri monír
goſt ò gardìd súyì daſht ravàn
dídah giryán ò mizhah áſhcfiſhàn

The Tranſlation.

1. *The man, who had* inebriated himſelf with milk from the nipple of Anguiſh, who had been nouriſhed in the lap of Affliction,

2. MEJNU'N, mad with the bright hue and fair face of LAILÌ, himſelf a dark mole on the cheek of the deſert,

3. Having found the way to the manſion of love, became *fixed like* the threſhold on the door of love's palace.

4. Over his head the form of Madneſs had caſt her ſhadow: the tale of his paſſion was loudly celebrated.

5. Among the *Arabs* a tumult aroſe on all ſides: the relation of his adventures was a deſſert in their aſſemblies.

6. A powerful Prince reigned in *Arabia*, poſſeſſing worldly magnificence and riches:

7. He had ſeen the depredations of Grief through abſence from a beloved object: he had plucked many a black-ſpotted flower from *the garden of* love.

8. Even in his infancy he had felt the pain of ſeparation: the bitter taſte of that poiſon remained on his palate.

9. When he learned the ſtory of that afflicted lover, he inſtantly gave an order to a ſlave,

10. *Saying*, 'Make thy head like thy feet in 'running towards *Najd*; go with celerity, like a 'violent wind:

11. 'Bring ſpeedily with thee to my preſence 'Her, who has ſtolen the heart of MEJNU'N 'with a glance.'

12. The ſtripling ran, and in a ſhort time brought LAILÌ, that Empreſs in the dominion of beauty.

13. To another ſlave *the* Prince gave this order: 'Run thou alſo into the deſert,

14. 'Go to that ornament of frantick lovers, 'MEJNU'N, the illumined taper of love.

15. 'Bring quickly before me that inflamed '*youth*, that heart-conſumed anguiſh-pierced 'lover.'

16. The boy went, and returned, in the twinkling of an eye, accompanied by the ruler in the territories of love.

17. When the Prince looked at him, he beheld a wretch in bondage to the miſery of deſire.

18. Madneſs had fixed her abode on this head: he was clothed, as with a veſt, with the wounds of ſeparation.

19. His locks flowed, like a mantle, over his body: his only ſandal was the callus of his feet.

20. In his hair ſtuck a comb of *Arabian* thorns: a robe of ſand from the deſert covered his back.

21. 'O THOU, ſaid *the Prince*, who haſt been 'loſt in the valley of ſorrow; doſt thou not wiſh 'me to give thee the object of thy paſſion,

22. 'To exalt thee with dignity and power; 'to bring LAILÌ before thee gratifying thy ſoul?'

23. 'No, no; anſwered he, far, far is it from 'my wiſh, that an atom ſhould be ſeen together 'with the ſun.'

24. 'Speak truly, replied the Prince, art thou 'not willing to recreate thyſelf on the ſmooth 'plain of that beautiful cheek?

25. 'Or haſt thou no inclination to enjoy her 'charms? I adjure thee, by the ſoul of LAILÌ, 'to declare the truth!'

26. He rejoined: 'O chief of men with 'generous hearts, a particle of duſt from thy 'gate is a diadem on my head.

27. 'The pain of my love for LAILÌ is ſuf-
'ficient for my heart: a wiſh to enjoy her pre-
'ſence *thus* would be injuſtice.

28. 'To gratify this contemptible ſoul of
'mine, a ſingle ray from that bright luminary
'would be enough.'

29. He ſpake, and ran towards the deſert, his eye weeping, and his eye-laſhes raining tears.

Theſe couplets would fully anſwer the purpoſe of ſhowing the method, in which *Perſian* may be written according to the original characters, with ſome regard alſo to the *Iſfahánì* pronunciation; but, ſince a very ingenious artiſt, named MUHAMMED GHAU'TH, has engraved a tetraſtich on copper, as a ſpecimen of his art, and ſince no moveable types can equal the beauty of *Perſian* writing, I annex his plate*, and add the four lines, which he has ſelected, in *Engliſh* letters: they are too eaſy to require a tranſlation, and too inſignificant to deſerve it.

Huwa'l ázìz
Caſhmi terah'h'um zi tó dárìm mà
keblah tóyì rù beceh ārìm mà
h'ájati mà áz tò ber āyed temàm
dámenat áz cáf naguzárìm mà.

* Plate VI.

VI.

The firſt ſpecimen of *Hindì*, that occurs to me, is a little *Ghazal* or love-ſong, in a *Choriambick* meaſure, written by GUNNA' BEIGUM, the wife of GHA'ZIU'LDÍN KH'AN, a man of conſummate abilities and conſummate wickedneſs, who has borne an active part in the modern tranſactions of Upper *Hindúſtàn*.

مدعي ہمسي سخن ساز بسا وسي ہي

اہ اب کثرت داغ غم خوبانسي تمام

ہي ميري طرح جگر خون تيرا مدت سي

عوض درد مزي سي وہ بہري ہين ساري

تہمت عشق عبث کرتي ہين مجہپر منت

اب تمنا کو يہان مژدہ ہايوسي ہي

صحہ سينہ ميرا جاوہ طاوسي ہي

هو العزیز
چشم ترحم زتو داریم ما
قبلہ توئے رو بکہ اریم ما
حاجت ما ازتو برا ید تمام
دامنت از کف نگذاریم ما
کار محمد غوث
1120

ای حنّا کسکی تجھی خواہش پا بوسی ای

جس لب زخم نی شمشیر تیری چوسی ای

ہان یہہ سچ ملنی کی خوبان سبی تونک خوسی ای

Muddaîì hemsè ſokhan ſáz bi ſálúsì haì
ab tamennà cò yehàn muzhedeï máyúsì haì
áh ab caſrati dághi ghemi khúbán sè temàm
s'afh'aï sínah mérà jilwaï t'áúsì haì
haì mérì t'arah' jigar knúni térà muddatsè
aì h'innà ciſcì tujhè khwábiſhi páhúsì haì
áwazi derd mezè sè wah bherè hain súrè
jis lebi zakham nè ſhemſhíri térì chúsì haì
tohmati iſhk âbas cartè hain mujhper Minnat
hán yeh ſech milnè cì khúbàn sè tú tuc khúsì haì.

The Tranſlation.

1. My beloved foe ſpeaks of me with diſſimulation; and now the tidings of deſpair are brought hither to the deſire of my ſoul.

2. Alas, that the ſmooth ſurface of my boſom, through the marks of burning in the ſad abſence of lovely youths, is become like the plumage of a peacock.

3. Like me, O *Hinnà* (the fragrant and elegant ſhrub, with the leaves of which the nails of *Arabian* women are dyed crimſon), thy heart has long been full of blood: whoſe foot art thou deſirous of kiſſing?

4. Inſtead of pain, *my beloved*, every wound from thy cimeter ſucks with its lips the ſweetneſs, with which it is filled.

5. The ſuſpicion of love is vainly caſt on MINNAT—Yes; true it is, that my nature rather leads me to the company of beautiful youths.

Thus have I explained, by obſervations and examples, my method of noting in *Roman* letters the principal languages of *Aſia*; nor can I doubt, that *Armenian*, *Turkiſh*, and the various dialects of *Tartary*, may be expreſſed in the ſame manner with equal advantage; but, as *Chineſe* words are not written in alphabetical characters, it is obvious, that they muſt be noted according to the beſt *pronunciation* uſed in *China*; which has, I imagine, few ſounds incapable of being rendered by the ſymbols uſed in this eſſay.

ON

THE GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA,

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE REVISED,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

WE cannot juſtly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people muſt have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; ſince Gods of all ſhapes and dimenſions may be framed by the boundleſs powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but, when features of reſemblance, too ſtrong to have been accidental, are obſervable in different ſyſtems of polytheiſm, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeneſs, we can ſcarce help believing, that ſome connection has immemorially ſubſiſted between the ſeveral nations, who have adopted them: it is my deſign in this eſſay, to point out ſuch a reſemblance between the popular worſhip of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; nor can there be room to doubt of a great ſimi-

larity between their ſtrange religions and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Perſia*, *Phrygia*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may ſafely add ſome of the ſouthern kingdoms and even iſlands of *America*; while the *Gothick* ſyſtem, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely ſimilar to thoſe of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almoſt the ſame in another dreſs with an embroidery of images apparently *Aſiatick*. From all this, if it be ſatisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true GOD.

There ſeem to have been four principal ſources of all mythology. I. Hiſtorical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or ſtupidity; as a king of *Crete*, whoſe tomb had been diſcovered in that iſland, was conceived to have been the God of *Olympus*, and MINOS, a legiſlator of that country, to have been his ſon, and to hold a ſupreme appellate juriſdiction over departed ſouls; hence too probably flowed the tale of CADMUS, as BOCHART learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monſters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain poſitions, were

ſuppoſed to cruſh all veſſels attempting to paſs between them; of which idle fictions many other inſtances might be collected from the *Odyſſey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The leſs we ſay of *Julian* ſtars, deifications of princes or warriours, altars raiſed, with thoſe of APOLLO, to the baſeſt of men, and divine titles beſtowed on ſuch wretches as CAJUS OCTAVIANUS, the leſs we ſhall expoſe the infamy of grave ſenators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be aſſured, that the mad apotheoſis of truly great men, or of little men falſely called great, has been the origin of groſs idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next ſource of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the ſyſtems and calculations of Aſtronomers: hence came a conſiderable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worſhip in *Arabia*; the *Perſian* types and emblems of *Mihr* or the ſun, and the far extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps, all the artificial Chronology of the *Chineſe* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberleſs divinities have been created ſolely by the magick of poetry; whoſe eſſential buſineſs it is, to perſonify

the moſt abſtract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almoſt in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Jaſo*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of ÆSCULAPIUS, who was either a diſtinguiſhed phyſician, or medical ſkill perſonified; and hence *Chloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moraliſts and metaphyſicians have been alſo very fertile in Deities; of which a thouſand examples might be adduced from PLATO, CICERO, and the inventive commentators on HOMER in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous leſſons of morality: the richeſt and nobleſt ſtream from this abundant fountain is the charming philoſophical tale of PSYCHE, or the *Progreſs of the Soul*; than which, to my taſte, a more beautiful, ſublime, and well ſupported allegory was never produced by the wiſdom and ingenuity of man. Hence alſo the *Indian* MA'YA', or, as the word is explained by ſome *Hindu* ſcholars, "the firſt inclination of the Godhead to diverſify himſelf (ſuch is their phraſe) by creating worlds," is feigned to be the mother of univerſal nature, and of all the inferiour Gods; as a *Caſhmirian* informed me, when I aſked him, why CA'MA, or *Love*, was repreſented as her ſon; but the word MA'YA', or *deluſion*, has a more ſubtile and recondite ſenſe in the *Védánta* philoſophy,

where it ſignifies the ſyſtem of *perceptions*, whether of ſecondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by EPICHARMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious men, to raiſe by his omnipreſent ſpirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any exiſtence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever ſource they were derived, I ſhall remember, that nothing is leſs favourable to enquiries after truth than a ſyſtematical ſpirit, and ſhall call to mind the ſaying of a *Hindu* writer, "that whoever obſtinately adheres to any ſet of opinions, "may bring himſelf to believe that the freſheſt "ſandal-wood is a flame of fire:" this will effectually prevent me from inſiſting, that ſuch a God of *India* was *the* JUPITER of *Greece*; ſuch, *the* APOLLO; ſuch, *the* MERCURY: in fact, ſince all the cauſes of polytheiſm contributed largely to the aſſemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical diſguiſe of true hiſtory), we find many JOVES, many APOLLOS, many MERCURIES, with diſtinct attributes and capacities; nor ſhall I preſume to ſuggeſt more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exiſts a ſtriking ſimilitude between the chief objects of worſhip in ancient *Greece* or *Italy* and in the

very intereſting country, which we now inhabit.

The compariſon, which I proceed to lay before you, muſt needs be very ſuperficial, partly from my ſhort reſidence in *Hinduſtan*, partly from my want of complete leiſure for literary amuſements, but principally becauſe I have no *European* book, to refreſh my memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, work of POMEY, entitled the *Pantheon*, and that ſo miſerably tranſlated, that it can hardly be read with patience. A thouſand more ſtrokes of reſemblance might, I am ſure, be collected by any, who ſhould with that view peruſe HESIOD, HYGINUS, CORNUTUS, and the other mythologiſts; or, which would be a ſhorter and a pleaſanter way, ſhould be ſatisfied with the very elegant *Syntagmata* of LILIUS GIRALDUS.

Diſquiſitions concerning the manners and conduct of our ſpecies in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at leaſt and amuſing; but they are highly intereſting to ſuch, as can ſay of themſelves with CHREMES in the play, "We are men, and take an intereſt in all "that relates to mankind:" They may even be of ſolid importance in an age, when ſome intelligent and virtuous perſons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by MOSES, concerning the primitive world;

ſince no modes or ſources of reaſoning can be unimportant, which have a tendency to remove ſuch doubts. Either the firſt eleven chapters of *Geneſis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eaſtern ſtyle, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is falſe; a concluſion, which none of us, I truſt, would wiſh to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the MESSIAH, from the undiſputed antiquity and manifeſt completion of many propheſies, eſpecially thoſe of ISAIAH, in the only perſon recorded by hiſtory, to whom they are applicable, am obliged of courſe to believe the ſanctity of the venerable books, to which that ſacred perſon refers as genuine; but it is not the truth of our national religion, as ſuch, that I have at heart: it is truth itſelf; and, if any cool unbiaſſed reaſoner will clearly convince me, that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I ſhall eſteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promiſe to ſtand among the foremoſt in aſſiſting to circulate the truth, which he has aſcertained. After ſuch a declaration, I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that no candid man will be diſpleaſed, if, in the courſe of my work, I make as free with any arguments, that he may have advanced, as I ſhould really deſire

him to do with any of mine, that he may be diſpoſed to controvert. Having no ſyſtem of my own to maintain, I ſhall not purſue a very regular method, but ſhall take all the Gods, of whom I diſcourſe, as they happen to preſent themſelves; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANU or GANE'SA.

The titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully comprized in two choriambick verſes of SULPITIUS; and a farther account of him from OVID would here be ſuperfluous:

> *Jane* pater, *Jane* tuens, dive biceps, biformis,
> O cate rerum ſator, O principium deorum!

"Father JANUS, all-beholding JANUS, thou "divinity with two heads, and with two forms; "O ſagacious planter of all things, and leader "of deities!"

He was the God, we ſee, of *Wiſdom*; whence he is repreſented on coins with *two*, and, on the *Hetruſcan* image found at *Faliſci*, with *four*, faces; emblems of prudence and circumſpection: thus is GANE'SA, the God of *Wiſdom* in *Hinduſtan*, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the ſymbol of ſagacious diſcernment, and attended by a favourite *rat*, which the *Indians* conſider as a wiſe and provident animal. His next great character (the plentiful ſource of many ſuperſtitious uſages) was that, from which he is em-

GANESA.
श्रीगणेशायनमः

phatically ſtyled *the father*, and which the ſecond verſe before-cited more fully expreſſes, *the origin and founder of all things:* whence this notion aroſe, unleſs from a tradition that he firſt built ſhrines, raiſed altars, and inſtituted ſacrifices, it is not eaſy to conjecture; hence it came however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old ſacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incenſe alſo, were firſt offered to JANUS; that the *doors* or *entrances* to private houſes were called *Januæ*, and any pervious paſſage or thorough-fare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was repreſented holding a rod as guardian of ways, and a key, as *opening*, not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preſide over the morning, or *beginning of day*; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was conſidered as *firſt* of the twelve, whence the whole year was ſuppoſed to be under his guidance, and opened with great ſolemnity by the conſuls inaugurated in his fane, where his ſtatue was decorated on that occaſion with freſh laurel; and, for the ſame reaſon, a ſolemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military conſul's opening the gates of his temple

with all the pomp of his magiſtracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he ſays of himſelf in OVID, all entrance and acceſs muſt be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the ſame number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preſide over infants at their birth, or the *beginning* of life.

The *Indian* divinity has preciſely the ſame character: all ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addreſſes even to ſuperiour Gods, all ſerious compoſitions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word compoſed of *iſa*, the *governor* or *leader*, and *gan'a*, or *a company* of deities, *nine* of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcoſh*. Inſtances of opening buſineſs auſpiciouſly by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of reſemblance here traced will juſtify me in ſo calling him) might be multiplied with eaſe. Few books are begun without the words *ſalutation* to GANE'S, and he is firſt invoked by the *Bráhmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *hóma*, or ſacrifice to fire: M. SONNERAT repreſents him as highly revered on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; "where the *Indians*, he ſays,

" would not on any account build a houſe, with-
" out having placed on the ground an image of
" this deity, which they ſprinkle with oil and
" adorn every day with flowers; they ſet up his
" figure in all their temples, in the ſtreets, in the
" high roads, and in open plains at the foot of
" ſome tree; ſo that perſons of all ranks may in-
" voke him, before they undertake any buſineſs,
" and travellers worſhip him, before they pro-
" ceed on their journey." To this I may add, from my own obſervation, that in the commodious and uſeful town, which now riſes at *Dharmáranya* or *Gayà*, under the auſpices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Eſq. collector of *Rotas*, every new-built houſe, agreeably to an immemorial uſage of the *Hindus*, has the name of GANE'SA ſuperſcribed on its door; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples.

We come now to SATURN, the oldeſt of the pagan Gods, of whoſe office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the ſon of Earth and of Heaven, who was the ſon of the Sky and the Day, is purely a confeſſion of ignorance, who were his parents or who his predeceſſors; and there appears more ſenſe in the tradition ſaid to be mentioned by the inquiſitive and well informed PLATO, " that both SA-
" TURN or *time*, and his conſort CYBELE, or

" the *Earth*, together with their attendants, were " the children of *Ocean* and THETIS, or, in leſs " poetical language, ſprang from the waters of the " great deep." CERES, the goddeſs of harveſts, was, it ſeems, their daughter; and VIRGIL deſcribes " the mother and nurſe of all as crown- " ed with turrets, in a car drawn by lions, and " exulting in her hundred grandſons, all divine, " all inhabiting ſplendid celeſtial manſions." As the God of time, or rather as *time* itſelf perſonified, SATURN was uſually painted by the heathens holding a ſcythe in one hand, and, in the other, a ſnake with its tail in its mouth, the ſymbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages: he was often repreſented in the act of devouring years, in the form of children, and, ſometimes, encircled by the ſeaſons appearing like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was named SATURNUS; and the moſt ingenious etymology of that word is given by FESTUS the grammarian; who traces it, by a learned analogy to many ſimilar names, *à ſatu*, from planting, becauſe, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his diſtinguiſhing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expreſſed allegorically by the ſtern of a ſhip or galley on the reverſe of his ancient coins; for which OVID aſſigns a very unſatisfactory reaſon, " becauſe

"the divine ſtranger arrived in a ſhip on the "*Italian* coaſt;" as if he could have been expected on horſe-back or hovering through the air.

The account, quoted by POMEY from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, caſts a clearer light, if it really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole tale of SATURN; "that he predicted an ex- "traordinary fall of rain, and ordered the con- "ſtruction of a veſſel, in which it was neceſſary "to ſecure men, beaſts, birds, and reptiles from "a general inundation."

Now it ſeems not eaſy to take a cool review of all theſe teſtimonies concerning the birth, kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and entire life of SATURN, without aſſenting to the opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at leaſt to be highly probable, that the fable was raiſed on the true hiſtory of NOAH; from whoſe flood a new period of *time* was computed, and a new ſeries of ages may be ſaid to have ſprung; who roſe freſh, and, as it were, newly born from the waves; whoſe wife was in fact the univerſal mother, and, that the earth might ſoon be repeopled, was early bleſſed with numerous and flouriſhing deſcendants: if we produce, therefore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and beneficence, whoſe ſtory ſeems evidently to be that of NOAH diſguiſed by *Aſia-*

tick fiction, we may ſafely offer a conjecture, that he was alſo the ſame perſonage with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whoſe pratronymick name was VAIVASWATA, or child of the SUN; and whom the *Indians* believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earlieſt age of their chronology, but to have reſided in the country of *Dravira*, on the coaſt of the Eaſtern *Indian* Peninſula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally tranſlated from the *Bhágavat*; and it is the ſubject of the firſt *Purána*, entitled that of the *Matſya*, or *Fiſh*.

'Deſiring the preſervation of herds, and of '*Bráhmans*, of genii and virtuous men, of the '*Védas*, of law, and of precious things, the lord 'of the univerſe aſſumes many bodily ſhapes; 'but, though he pervades, like the air, a va-'riety of beings, yet he is himſelf unvaried, 'ſince he has no quality ſubject to change. 'At the cloſe of the laſt *Calpa*, there was a 'general deſtruction occaſioned by the ſleep of 'BRAHMA; whence his creatures in different 'worlds were drowned in a vaſt ocean. BRAH-'MA, being inclined to ſlumber, deſiring repoſe 'after a lapſe of ages, the ſtrong demon HAYA-'GRI'VA came near him, and ſtole the *Védas*, 'which had flowed from his lips. When HERI, 'the preſerver of the univerſe, diſcovered this

'deed of the Prince of *Dánavas*, he took the 'ſhape of a minute fiſh, called *ſap'harì*. A 'holy king, named SATYAVRATA, then reigned; 'a ſervant of the ſpirit, which moved on the 'waves, and ſo devout, that water was his only 'ſuſtenance. He was the child of the Sun, 'and, in the preſent *Calpa*, is inveſted by NA-'RA'YAN in the office of *Menu*, by the name of 'SRA'DDHADE'VA, or the God of Obſequies. 'One day, as he was making a libation in the 'river *Crĭtamálà*, and held water in the palm 'of his hand, he perceived a ſmall fiſh moving 'in it. The king of *Dravira* immediately 'dropped the fiſh into the river together with 'the water, which he had taken from it; when 'the *ſap'harì* thus pathetically addreſſed the be-'nevolent monarch: "How canſt thou, O "king, who ſhoweſt affection to the oppreſſed, "leave me in this river-water, where I am too "weak to reſiſt the monſters of the ſtream, "who fill me with dread?" He, not knowing 'who had aſſumed the form of a fiſh, applied 'his mind to the preſervation of the *ſap'harì*, 'both from good nature and from regard to his 'own ſoul; and, having heard its very ſuppliant 'addreſs, he kindly placed it under his pro-'tection in a ſmall vaſe full of water; but, in a 'ſingle night, its bulk was ſo increaſed, that it 'could not be contained in the jar, and thus

'again addreſſed the illuſtrious Prince: "I am
"not pleaſed with living miſerably in this little
"vaſe; make me a large manſion, where I may
"dwell in comfort." The king, removing it
'thence, placed it in the water of a ciſtern; but
'it grew three cubits in leſs than fifty minutes,
'and ſaid: "O king, it pleaſes me not to ſtay
"vainly in this narrow ciſtern: ſince thou haſt
"granted me an aſylum, give me a ſpacious
"habitation." He then removed it, and placed
'it in a pool, where, having ample ſpace around
'its body, it became a fiſh of conſiderable ſize.
"This abode, O king, is not convenient for me,
"who muſt ſwim at large in the waters: exert
"thyſelf for my ſafety; and remove me to a
"deep lake:" Thus addreſſed, the pious mo-
'narch threw the ſuppliant into a lake, and,
'when it grew of equal bulk with that piece of
'water, he caſt the vaſt fiſh into the ſea. When
'the fiſh was thrown into the waves, he thus
'again ſpoke to SATYAVRATA: "here the
"horned ſharks, and other monſters of great
"ſtrength will devour me; thou ſhouldſt not,
"O valiant man, leave me in this ocean." Thus
'repeatedly deluded by the fiſh, who had ad-
'dreſſed him with gentle words, the king ſaid:
"who art thou, that beguileſt me in that aſſumed
"ſhape? Never before have I ſeen or heard of
"ſo prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who,

" like thee, haſt filled up, in a ſingle day, a lake " an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely, " thou art BHAGAVAT, who appeareſt before " me; the great HERI, whoſe dwelling was on " the waves; and who now, in compaſſion to thy " ſervants, beareſt the form of the natives of the " deep. Salutation and praiſe to thee, O firſt " male, the lord of creation, of preſervation, of " deſtruction! Thou art the higheſt object, O " ſupreme ruler, of us thy adorers, who piouſly " ſeek thee. All thy deluſive deſcents in this " world give exiſtence to various beings: yet I " am anxious to know, for what cauſe that ſhape " has been aſſumed by thee. Let me not, O " lotos-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a " deity, whoſe perfect benevolence has been ex- " tended to all; when thou haſt ſhewn us to " our amazement the appearance of other bodies " not in reality exiſting, but ſucceſſively ex- " hibited." The lord of the univerſe, loving ' the pious man, who thus implored him, and ' intending to preſerve him from the ſea of de- ' ſtruction, cauſed by the depravity of the age, ' thus told him how he was to act. " In ſeven " days from the preſent time, O thou tamer of " enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in " an ocean of death; but, in the midſt of the " deſtroying waves, a large veſſel, ſent by me " for thy uſe, ſhall ſtand before thee. Then

" ſhalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the va-
" riety of ſeeds; and, accompanied by ſeven
" Saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals,
" thou ſhalt enter the ſpacious ark and continue
" in it, ſecure from the flood on one immenſe
" ocean without light, except the radiance of thy
" holy companions. When the ſhip ſhall be
" agitated by an impetuous wind, thou ſhalt
" faſten it with a large ſea-ſerpent on my horn;
" for I will be near thee: drawing the veſſel,
" with thee and thy attendants, I will remain on
" the ocean, O chief of men, until a night of
" BRAHMA' ſhall be completely ended. Thou
" ſhalt then know my true greatneſs, rightly
" named the ſupreme Godhead; by my favour,
" all thy queſtions ſhall be anſwered, and thy
" mind abundantly inſtructed." HERI, having
' thus directed the monarch, diſappeared; and
' SATYAVRATA humbly waited for the time,
' which the ruler of our ſenſes had appointed.
' The pious king, having ſcattered towards the
' Eaſt the pointed blades of the graſs *darbha*, and
' turning his face towards the North, ſate me-
' ditating on the feet of the God, who had borne
' the form of a fiſh. The ſea, overwhelming its
' ſhores, deluged the whole earth; and it was
' ſoon perceived to be augmented by ſhowers
' from immenſe clouds. He, ſtill meditating on
' the command of BHAGAVAT, ſaw the veſſel

'advancing, and entered it with the chiefs of
'*Bráhmans*, having carried into it the medicinal
'creepers and conformed to the directions of
'HERI. The ſaints thus addreſſed him: "O
"king, meditate on CE'SAVA; who will, ſurely,
"deliver us from this danger, and grant us proſ-
"perity." The God, being invoked by the
'monarch, appeared again diſtinctly on the vaſt
'ocean in the form of a fiſh, blazing like gold,
'extending a million of leagues, with one ſtu-
'pendous horn; on which the king, as he had
'before been commanded by HERI, tied the ſhip
'with a cable made of a vaſt ſerpent, and, happy
'in his preſervation, ſtood praiſing the deſtroyer
'of MADHU. When the monarch had finiſhed
'his hymn, the primeval male, BHAGAVAT,
'who watched for his ſafety on the great ex-
'panſe of water, ſpoke aloud to his own divine
'eſſence, pronouncing a ſacred *Purána*, which
'contained the rules of the *Sánc'hya* philoſophy:
'but it was an infinite myſtery to be concealed
'within the breaſt of SATYAVRATA; who, ſit-
'ting in the veſſel with the ſaints, heard the
'principle of the ſoul, the Eternal Being, pro-
'claimed by the preſerving power. Then HERI,
'riſing together with BRAHMA', from the de-
'ſtructive deluge, which was abated, ſlew the
'demon HAYAGRI'VA, and recovered the ſacred
'books. SATYAVRATA, inſtructed in all divine

'and human knowledge, was appointed in the 'preſent *Calpa*, by the favour of VISHNU, the 'ſeventh MENU, ſurnamed VAIVASWATA: but 'the appearance of a horned fiſh to the religious 'monarch was *Máyá*, or deluſion; and he, who 'ſhall devoutly hear this important allegorical 'narrative, will be delivered from the bondage 'of ſin.'

This epitome of the firſt *Indian* Hiſtory, that is now extant, appears to me very curious and very important; for the ſtory, though whimſically dreſſed up in the form of an allegory, ſeems to prove a primeval tradition in this country of the *univerſal deluge* deſcribed by MOSES, and fixes conſequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu* Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the *Purán*, from which the narrative is extracted, *another deluge* which happened towards the cloſe of the *third* age, when YUDHIST'HIR was labouring under the perſecution of his inveterate foe DURYO'DHAN, and when CRISHNA, who had recently become incarnate for the purpoſe of ſuccouring the pious and of deſtroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'hurà*; but the ſecond flood was merely *local* and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja:* they, it ſeems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthuſiaſtick adoration of the wonderful child,

" who lifted up the mountain *Góverdhena*, as if " it had been a flower, and, by ſheltering all the " herdſmen and ſhepherdeſſes from the ſtorm, " convinced INDRA of his ſupremacy." That the *Satya*, or (if we may venture ſo to call it) the *Saturnian*, age was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a cloſe examination of the ten *Avatárs*, or *Deſcents*, of the deity in his capacity of preſerver; ſince of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satya yug*, the *three firſt* apparently relate to ſome ſtupendous convulſion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous puniſhment of pride and impiety: firſt, as we have ſhown, there was, in the opinion of the *Hindus*, an interpoſition of Providence to preſerve a devout perſon and his family (for all the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not named, muſt be underſtood to have been ſaved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were deſtroyed; next, the power of the deity deſcends in the form of a *Boar*, the ſymbol of ſtrength, to draw up and ſupport on his tuſks the whole earth, which had been ſunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the ſame power is repreſented as a *tortoiſe* ſuſtaining the globe, which had been convulſed by the violent aſſaults of demons, while the Gods churned the ſea with the mountain *Mandar*, and forced it to diſgorge the

ſacred things and animals, together with the water of life, which it had ſwallowed: theſe three ſtories relate, I think, to the ſame event, ſhadowed by a moral, a metaphyſical, and an aſtronomical, allegory; and all three ſeem connected with the hieroglyphical ſculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatár* was a *lion* iſſuing from a burſting column of marble to devour a blaſpheming monarch, who would otherwiſe have ſlain his religious ſon; and of the remaining ſix, not one has the leaſt relation to a deluge: the three, which are aſcribed to the *Trétáyug*, when tyranny and irreligion are ſaid to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of Tyrants, or, their natural types, Giants with a thouſand arms formed for the moſt extenſive oppreſſion; and, in the *Dwáparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a ſimilar purpoſe, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjuſt and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to ſwarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of *contention* and baſeneſs. As to BUDDHA, he ſeems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Vèdas*; and, though his good nature led him to cenſure thoſe ancient books, becauſe they enjoined ſacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatár* even by the *Bráhmans* of *Cási*, and his praiſes are ſung by the

poet JAYADE'VA: his character is in many reſpects very extraordinary; but, as an account of it belongs rather to Hiſtory than to Mythology, it is reſerved for another diſſertation. The tenth *Avatár*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horſe, with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who ſhall then be on earth.

Theſe four *Yugs* have ſo apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally aſſigned to both ſyſtems: the firſt in both is diſtinguiſhed as abounding in *gold*, though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately following ſo tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the deſtruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterized by *ſilver*, and the third, by *copper*; though their uſual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the preſent, or *earthen*, age ſeems more properly diſcriminated than by *iron*, as in ancient *Europe*; ſince that metal is not baſer or leſs uſeful, though more common in our times and conſequently leſs precious, than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the loweſt degradation. We may here obſerve, that the true Hiſtory of the

ſtory, that the learned *Hindus* believe it; for the allegorical ſlumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the ſacred books mean only, in ſimpler language, that *the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Védas* are very ancient, and far older than other *Sanſcrit* compoſitions, I will venture to aſſert from my own examination of them, and a compariſon of their ſtyle with that of the *Puráns* and the *Dherma Sáſtra*. A ſimilar compariſon juſtifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book aſcribed to SWA'YAMBHUVA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the BHA'GAVAT; but that it was compoſed in the firſt age of the world, the *Bráhmans* would find it hard to perſuade me; and the date, which has been aſſigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I poſſeſs, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the ſuppoſed date is comprized in a verſe, which flatly contradicts the work itſelf; for it was not MENU who compoſed the ſyſtem of law, by the command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy perſonage or demigod, named BHRIGU, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the requeſt of him and other ſaints or patriarchs. In the *Mánava Sáſtra*, to conclude this digreſſion, the meaſure is ſo uniform and melodious, and the ſtyle ſo perfectly *Sanſcrit*,

or *poliſhed*, that the book muſt be more modern than the ſcriptures of MOSES, in which the ſimplicity, or rather nakedneſs, of the *Hebrew* dialect, metre, and ſtyle, muſt convince every unbiaſſed man of their ſuperior antiquity.

I leave etymologiſts, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word MENU, or, in the nominative caſe, MENUS, has any connexion with MINOS, the Lawgiver, and ſuppoſed ſon of JOVE: the *Cretans*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, uſed to feign, that moſt of the great men, who had been deified, in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their iſland; and hence a doubt may be raiſed, whether MINOS was really a *Cretan*. The *Indian* legiſlator was the firſt, not the ſeventh, MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whom I ſuppoſe to be the SATURN of *Italy*: part of SATURN's character, indeed, was that of a great lawgiver,

> Qui genus indocile ac diſperſum montibus altis
> Compoſuit, *legeſque dedit*,

and, we may ſuſpect, that all the fourteen MENUS are reducible to one, who was called NUH by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*, though we have diſguiſed his name by an improper pronunciation of it. Some near relation between the ſeventh MENU and the *Grecian*

MINOS may be inferred from the ſingular character of the *Hindu* God, YAMA, who was alſo a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA: he had too the ſame title with his brother, SRA'DDHADE'VA: another of his titles was DHERMARA'JA, or *King of Juſtice*; and a third, PITRIPETI, or *Lord of the Patriarchs*; but he is chiefly diſtinguiſhed as *judge of departed ſouls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that, when a ſoul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yama-pur*, or the city of YAMA, where it receives a juſt ſentence from him, and either aſcends to *Swerga*, or the firſt heaven, or is driven down to *Narac*, the region of ſerpents, or aſſumes on earth the form of ſome animal, unleſs its offence had been ſuch, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, priſon. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CA'LA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifeſt affinity with the word *chronos*, and a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT aſſures me, that, in the books which the *Behdins* hold ſacred, mention is made of an *univerſal inundation*, there named the deluge of TIME.

It having been occaſionally obſerved, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot cloſe this head without adding, that

the *Hindus* alſo have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they uſually call LACSHMI', and whom they conſider as the daughter (not of MENU, but) of BHRIGU, by whom the firſt Code of ſacred ordinances was promulgated: ſhe is alſo named PEDMA' and CAMALA' from the ſacred Lotos or *Nymphæa*; but her moſt remarkable name is SRI', or, in the firſt caſe, SRI'S, which has a reſemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *proſperity*. It may be contended, that, although LACSHMI' may be figuratively called the CERES of *Hinduſtan*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who ſubſiſted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preſide over their labours, without having the leaſt intercourſe with each other; but no reaſon appears, why two nations ſhould concur in ſuppoſing that Deity to be a female: one at leaſt of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs, and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Beſides, in very ancient temples near *Gayá*, we ſee images of LACSHMI', with full breaſts and a *cord* twiſted under her arm like a *horn of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of CERES.

The fable of SATURN having been thus analyſed, let us proceed to his deſcendents; and begin, as the Poet adviſes, with JUPITER, whoſe

ſupremacy, thunder, and libertiniſm every boy learns from OVID; while his great offices of Creator, Preſerver, and Deſtroyer, are not generally conſidered in the ſyſtems of *European* mythology. The *Romans* had, as we have before obſerved, many JUPITERS, one of whom was only the *Firmament* perſonified, as ENNIUS clearly expreſſes it:

Aſpice hoc ſublime candens, quem invocant omnes *Jovem.*

This JUPITER or DIESPITER is the *Indian* God of the viſible heavens, called INDRA, or the *King*, and DIVESPETIR, or *Lord of the Sky*, who has alſo the character of the *Roman* GENIUS, or Chief of the good ſpirits; but moſt of his epithets in *Sanſcrit* are the ſame with thoſe of the *Ennian* JOVE. His conſort is named SACHI'; his celeſtial city, *Amarávatì*; his palace, *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airávat*; his charioteer, MA'TALI; and his weapon, *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and ſhowers, and, though the Eaſt is peculiarly under his care, yet his *Olympus* is *Méru*, or the north pole allegorically repreſented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is conſidered as a ſubordinate Deity, and far inferior to the *Indian* Triad, BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHA'DEVA or SIVA, who are three *forms* of one

INDRA.
देवानामस्मिन्नायतनः

and the ſame Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER, with irregular inflexions DIOS and JOVIS, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but, like the deſtroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR; like the preſerving power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS, and, like the creating power, the *Giver of Life*; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a conſummate maſter of mythological learning. We are adviſed by PLATO himſelf to ſearch for the roots of *Greek* words in ſome barbarous, that is, foreign, ſoil; but, ſince I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak baſis for hiſtorical inquiries, I hardly dare ſuggeſt, that ZEV, SIV, and JOV, are the ſame ſyllable differently pronounced: it muſt, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatial *ſigma*, like that of the *Indians*, might have expreſſed it by their *zéta*, and that the initial letters of *zugon* and *jugum* are (as the inſtance proves) eaſily interchangeable.

Let us now deſcend, from theſe general and introductory remarks, to ſome particular obſervations on the reſemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER to the triple divinity VISHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA'; for that is the order, in which they are expreſſed by the letters A, U, and M, which coaleſce and

form the myſtical word O'M; a word, which never eſcapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in ſilence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly ſuppoſed to mean the Sun, be the *Sanſcrit* monoſyllable, I leave others to determine. It muſt always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are inſtructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE in the neuter gender: they believe his Eſſence to be infinitely removed from the comprehenſion of any mind but his own; and they ſuppoſe him to manifeſt his power by the operation of his divine ſpirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the waters*, both in the maſculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *Firſt Male*; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preſerved and ſupported; but the *Védántis*, unable to form a diſtinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodneſs was left a moment to itſelf, imagine that the Deity is ever preſent to his work, and conſtantly ſupports a ſeries of perceptions, which, in one ſenſe, they call *illuſory*, though they cannot but admit the *reality* of all created forms, as far as the happineſs of creatures can be affected by them. When they conſider the divine power

BRAHMÁ.
धाता हं विश्वेनामुख:

exerted in *creating*, or in giving exiſtence to that which exiſted not before, they call the deity BRAMA' in the maſculine gender alſo; and, when they view him in the light of *Deſtroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thouſand names, of which SIVA, I'SA, or I'SWARA, RUDRA, HARA, SAMBHU, and MAHA'DE'VA or MAHE'SA, are the moſt common. The firſt operations of theſe three *Powers* are variouſly deſcribed in the different *Purána's* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philoſophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphœa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is at preſent in *Hinduſtán*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are ſaid to embelliſh their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made proſtrations before it on entering my ſtudy, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. HOLWEL, in explaining his firſt plate, ſuppoſes BRAHMA' to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midſt of the abyſs; but it was manifeſtly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf, or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the ſpecies of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Támbúla*, and on the Coaſt of *Malabar* by that of *betel*, held ſacred, as he aſſerts, by the *Hindus*, or neceſſarily cultivated under the inſpection of *Bráhmans*; though, as

the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully ſecured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Támbúli's*.

That *water* was the primitive element and firſt work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philoſophers; but, as they give ſo particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole ſyſtem aroſe from traditions concerning the flood only, and muſt appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birásit* or *Geneſis*, than which a ſublimer paſſage, from the firſt word to the laſt, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: "*In the beginning* GOD created the "heavens and the earth.—And the earth was "void and waſte, and darkneſs was on the face "of the deep, and the ſpirit of GOD *moved upon* "the face of the waters; and GOD ſaid: *Let* "*Light be*—and *Light was.*" The ſublimity of this paſſage is conſiderably diminiſhed by the *Indian* paraphraſe of it, with which MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA, begins his addreſs to the ſages, who conſulted him on the formation of the univerſe: "This world, ſays he, was all darkneſs, "undiſcernible, undiſtinguiſhable, altogether as "in a profound ſleep; till the ſelf-exiſtent in-"viſible GOD, making it manifeſt with five ele-

VISHNU.
आदित्यानामहंविष्णुः.

" ments and other glorious forms, perfectly dif-
" pelled the gloom. He, deſiring to raiſe up
" various creatures by an emanation from his
" own glory, firſt created the *waters*, and im-
" preſſed them with a power of motion: by that
" power was produced a golden Egg, blazing
" like a thouſand ſuns, in which was born
" BRAHMA', ſelf-exiſting, the great parent of all
" rational beings. The waters are called *nárà*,
" ſince they are the offſpring of NERA (or I'S-
" WARA; and thence was NA'RA'YANA named,
" becauſe his firſt *ayana*, or *moving*, was on
" them.

" THAT WHICH IS, the inviſible cauſe, eter-
" nal, ſelf-exiſting, but unperceived, becoming
" maſculine *from neuter*, is celebrated among all
" creatures by the name of BRAHMA'. That
" God, having dwelled in the Egg, through re-
" volving years, Himſelf meditating on Himſelf,
" divided it into two equal parts; and from
" thoſe halves formed the heavens and the earth,
" placing in the midſt the ſubtil ether, the eight
" points of the world, and the permanent recep-
" tacle of waters."

To this curious deſcription, with which the *Mánava Sáſtra* begins, I cannot refrain from ſubjoining the four verſes, which are the text of the *Bhágavat*, and are believed to have been pronounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA':

the following verſion is moſt ſcrupulouſly literal*.

" Even I was even at firſt, not any other " thing; that, which exiſts, unperceived; ſu- " preme: afterwards I AM THAT WHICH IS; " and he, who muſt remain, am I.

" Except the FIRST CAUSE, whatever may " appear, and may not appear, in the mind, " know that to be the mind's MA'YA' (or *Delu- " ſion)*, as light, as darkneſs.

" As the great elements are in various beings, " entering, yet not entering (that is, pervading, " not deſtroying), thus am I in them, yet not " in them.

" Even thus far may inquiry be made by him, " who ſeeks to know the principle of mind, in " union and ſeparation, which muſt be EVERY " WHERE ALWAYS."

Wild and obſcure as theſe ancient verſes muſt appear in a naked verbal tranſlation, it will perhaps be thought by many, that the poetry or mythology of *Greece* or *Italy* afford no conceptions more awfully magnificent: yet the brevity and ſimplicity of the *Moſaick* diction are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the *Romans*, OVID, who might naturally have been expected to deſcribe it with learning and

* See the Original, p. 294. Plate IV.

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CUVERA.
विघ्नेशो यक्षरक्षसाम्

elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor in it:* other Mythologiſts are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of CORNUTUS, that the old *European* heathens conſidered JOVE (not the ſon of SATURN, but of the *Ether*, that is of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and men*; to which may be added the *Orphean* doctrine, preſerved by PROCLUS, that "the abyſs and empyreum, the earth and ſea, "the Gods and Goddeſſes, were produced by "ZEUS or JUPITER." In this character he correſponds with BRAHMA'; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHMA', reduced the univerſe to order, and, like BRAHMA', *loſt his head*, with the blood of which new animals were inſtantly formed: I allude to the common ſtory, the meaning of which I cannot diſcover, that BRAHMA' had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA'RA'YA'N.

That, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper* and *Supporter* of all, we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his uſual name is a contraction of *Juvans Pater*; an etymology, which ſhows the idea entertained of his character, though we may have ſome doubt of its accuracy. CALLI-

MACHUS, we know, addreſſes him as *the beſtower of all good, and of ſecurity from grief*; and, *ſince neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without wealth, give complete happineſs*, he prays, like a wife poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSHMI', the wife of VISHNU, ſince the *Hindu* Goddeſſes are believed to be the *powers* of their reſpective lords: as to CUVE'RA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whoſe names is *Paulaſtya*, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, reſiding in the palace of *Alacá*, or borne through the ſky in a ſplendid car named *Puſhpaca*, but is manifeſtly ſubordinate, like the other ſeven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God conſidered in three capacities. As the ſoul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, ſo finely deſcribed by VIRGIL, we ſee JOVE repreſented by ſeveral *Roman* poets; and with great ſublimity by LUCAN in the known ſpeech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, "JUPITER is, "wherever we look, wherever we move." This is preciſely the *Indian* idea of VISHNU, according to the four verſes above exhibited, not that the *Bráhmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Eſſence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehenſible; but, ſince the power of *preſerving* created things by a ſuperintending providence, belongs emi-

nently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exiſt tranſcendently in the *preſerving* member of the Triad, whom they ſuppoſe to be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS, not in ſubſtance, but in ſpirit and energy: here, however, I ſpeak of the *Vaiſhnava's*; for the *Saiva's* aſcribe a ſort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whoſe attributes are now to be conciſely examined.

It was in the capacity of Avenger and Deſtroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and Giants, whom TYPHON, BRIAREUS, TITIUS, and the reſt of their fraternity, led againſt the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a ſimilar conteſt between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITI, who frequently rebelled againſt heaven, BRAHMA is believed to have preſented the God of Deſtruction with *fiery ſhafts*. One of the many poems, entitled *Rámáyan*, the laſt book of which has been tranſlated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow *Bhuſhunda*, and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth, and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puránas* bears his name and comprizes his whole hiſtory. M. SONNERAT informs us, that VISHNU is repreſented in ſome places riding on the GARUDA, which he ſup-

poſes to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of BRISSON, eſpecially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coaſt highly venerate that claſs of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at ſtated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, reſembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gayà*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird or attended by it together with a little page; but, leſt an etymologiſt ſhould find GANYMED in GARUD, I muſt obſerve that the *Sanſcrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* ſtories of the celeſtial bird and the page appear to have ſome reſemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his Court and held his Councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, ſo the appropriated ſeat of MAHA'DE'VA, whom the *Saiva's* conſider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailáſa*, every ſplinter of whoſe rocks was an ineſtimable gem: his terreſtrial haunts are the ſnowy hills of *Himálaya*, or that branch of them to the Eaſt of the *Brahmaputra*, which has the name of *Chandraſic'hara*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all theſe circumſtances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named alſo TRILO'CHAN, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophthalmos* was an epithet of

ISWARA.
कल्याणंशंकरोऽस्मि

ZEUS, but that a ſtatue of him had been found, ſo early as the taking of *Troy*, with *a third eye in his forehead*, as we ſee him repreſented by the *Hindus*, we muſt conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little ſhort of being demonſtrated.

In the character of *Deſtroyer* alſo we may look upon this *Indian* Deity as correſponding with the *Stygian* JOVE, or PLUTO; eſpecially ſince CA'LI', or *Time* in the feminine gender, is a name of his conſort, who will appear hereafter to be PROSERPINE: indeed, if we can rely on a *Perſian* tranſlation of the *Bhágavat* (for the original is not yet in my poſſeſſion), the ſovereign of *Pátála*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named SE'SHANA'GA; for CRISHNA is there ſaid to have deſcended with his favourite ARJUN to the ſeat of that formidable divinity, from whom he inſtantly obtained the favour, which he requeſted, that the ſouls of a *Bráhman's* ſix ſons, who had been ſlain in battle, might reanimate their reſpective bodies; and SESHANA'GA is thus deſcribed: "He had "a gorgeous appearance, with a thouſand heads, "and, on each of them, a crown ſet with re- "ſplendent gems, one of which was larger and "brighter than the reſt; his eyes gleamed like "flaming torches; but his neck, his tongues, "and his body were black; the ſkirts of his

" habiliment were yellow, and a ſparkling jewel " hung in every one of his ears; his arms were " extended, and adorned with rich bracelets, " and his hands bore the holy ſhell, the radiated " weapon, the mace for war, and the lotos." Thus PLUTO was often exhibited in painting and ſculpture with a diadem and ſceptre; but himſelf and his equipage were of the blackeſt ſhade.

There is yet another attribute of MAHA'-DE'VA, by which he is too viſibly diſtinguiſhed in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To deſtroy, according to the *Védánti's* of *India*, the *Súfi's* of *Perſia*, and many Philoſophers of our *European* ſchools, is only to *generate* and *reproduce* in another form: hence the God of *Deſtruction* is holden in this country to preſide over *Generation*; as a ſymbol of which he rides on a *white bull*. Can we doubt, that the loves and feats of JUPITER GENITOR (not forgetting the *white bull* of EUROPA) and his extraordinary title of LAPIS, for which no ſatisfactory reaſon is commonly given, have a connexion with the *Indian* Philoſophy and Mythology? As to the deity of *Lampſacus*, he was originally a mere ſcare-crow, and ought not to have a place in any mythological ſyſtem; and, in regard to BACCHUS, the God of *Vintage* (between whoſe acts and thoſe of JUPITER we find, as BACON

VARUNA
वरुणो यादसामहम्

obſerves, a wonderful affinity), his *Ithyphallick* images, meaſures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the ſuppoſed relation of Love and Wine; unleſs we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one of whoſe names is *Vágis* or BA'GI'S, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Eſſay on the Gods of *India*, where the *Bráhmans* are poſitively forbidden to taſte fermented liquors, we can have little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary Preſident over the vintage in *Italy*, *Greece*, and the lower *Aſia*, yet we muſt not omit SURA'DE'VI the Goddeſs of Wine, who aroſe, ſay the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain *Mandar:* and this fable ſeems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country, in which wine was anciently made and conſidered as a bleſſing; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legiſlators to prohibit the uſe of all ſpirituous liquors; and it were much to be wiſhed, that ſo wiſe a law had never been violated.

Here may be introduced the JUPITER *Marinus*, or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as reſembling MAHA'DE'VA in his *generative* character; eſpecially as the *Hindu* God is the huſband of BHAVA'NI', whoſe relation to the *waters* is evidently marked by her image being reſtored to

them at the concluſion of her great feſtival called *Durgótſava*: ſhe is known alſo to have attributes exactly ſimilar to thoſe of VENUS *Marina*, whoſe birth from the ſea-foam and ſplendid riſe from the Conch, in which ſhe had been cradled, have afforded ſo many charming ſubjects to ancient and modern artiſts; and it is very remarkable, that the REMBHA' of INDRA's court, who ſeems to correſpond with the popular VENUS, or Goddeſs of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabuliſts, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *triſúla* and the *trident*, the weapon of SIVA and of NEPTUNE, ſeems to eſtabliſh this analogy; and the veneration paid all over *India* to the large buccinum, eſpecially when it can be found with the ſpiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings inſtantly to our mind the muſick of TRITON. The Genius of Water is VARUNA; but he, like the reſt, is far inferior to MAHE'S'A, and even to INDRA, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

This way of conſidering the Gods as individual ſubſtances, but as diſtinct perſons in diſtinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* ſyſtems; as well as the cuſtom of giving the higheſt of them the greateſt number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been ſaid of JUPITER, came the triple capacity of DIANA;

CARTICEYA.
सेनानीनामहं स्कंदः

and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that ſhe might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The conſort of SIVA is more eminently marked by theſe diſtinctions than thoſe of BRAHMA' or VISHNU: ſhe reſembles the ISIS *Myrionymos*, to whom an ancient marble, deſcribed by GRUTER, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are PA'RVATÍ, DURGA', BHAVA'NÍ.

As the *Mountain-born* Goddeſs, or PA'RVATÍ, ſhe has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majeſtick deportment, high ſpirit, and general attributes are the ſame; and we find her both on Mount *Cailáſa*, and at the banquets of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her huſband. One circumſtance in the parallel is extremely ſingular; ſhe is uſually attended by her ſon CA'RTICE'YA, who rides on a *peacock*; and, in ſome drawings, his own robe ſeems to be ſpangled with eyes; to which muſt be added that, in ſome of her temples, a *peacock*, without a rider, ſtands near her image. Though CA'RTICE'YA, with his ſix faces and numerous eyes, bears ſome reſemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the ſecond claſs, and the Commander of celeſtial Armies, he ſeems clearly to be the ORUS of *Egypt* and the MARS of *Italy*: his name SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Puránas*, has a connexion, I am perſuaded,

with the old SECANDER of *Perſia*, whom the poets ridiculouſly confound with the *Macedonian*.

The attributes of DURGA', or *Difficult of acceſs*, are alſo conſpicuous in the feſtival abovementioned, which is called by her name, and in this character ſhe reſembles MINERVA, not the peaceful inventreſs of the fine and uſeful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and ſpear: both repreſent heroick *Virtue*, or Valour united with Wiſdom; both ſlew Demons and Giants with their own hands, and both protected the wiſe and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As PALLAS, they ſay, takes her name from *vibrating* a lance, and uſually appears in complete armour, thus CURIS, the old *Latian* word for a ſpear, was one of JUNO's titles; and ſo, if GIRALDUS be correct, was HOPLOSMIA, which at *Elis*, it ſeems, meant a female dreſſed in panoply or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* MINERVA of the *Romans* apparently correſponds, as patroneſs of Science and Genius, with SERESWATI, the wife of BRAHMA', and the emblem of his principal *Creative Power:* both goddeſſes have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the *Sáreſwata* of SARU'PA'CHA'RYA is far more conciſe as well as more uſeful and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS. The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and

SERESWATÍ preſides over melody: the protectreſs of *Athens* was even, on the ſame account, ſurnamed MUSICE'.

Many learned Mythologiſts, with GIRALDUS at their head, conſider the peaceful MINERVA as the ISIS of *Egypt*; from whoſe temple at *Sais* a wonderful inſcription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a reſemblance to the four *Sanſcrit* verſes above exhibited as the text of the *Bhágavat*: "I am all, that hath been, and is, and ſhall be; "and my veil no mortal hath ever removed." For my part I have no doubt, that the ÍSWARA and ÍSÍ of the *Hindus* are the OSIRIS and ISIS of the *Egyptians*; though a diſtinct eſſay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requiſite in order to demonſtrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* conſidered as Male and Female; and ISIS, like the other goddeſſes, repreſents the active power of her lord, whoſe *eight* forms, under which he becomes viſible to man, were thus enumerated by CA'LIDA'SA near two thouſand years ago: "*Water* was the firſt "work of the Creator; and *Fire* receives the "oblation of clarified butter, as the law ordains; "the *Sacrifice* is performed with ſolemnity; the "*two Lights* of heaven diſtinguiſh time; the "ſubtil *Ether*, which is the vehicle of ſound, "pervades the univerſe; the *Earth* is the na"tural parent of all increaſe; and by *Air* all

" things breathing are animated: may ISA, the " *power* propitiouſly apparent in theſe eight " forms, bleſs and ſuſtain you!" The *five* elements, therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon, are conſidered as ISA or the *Ruler*, from which word ISI may be regularly formed, though ISA'NI be the uſual name of his *active Power*, adored as the Goddeſs of Nature. I have not yet found in *Sanſcrit* the wild, though poetical, tale of Io; but am perſuaded, that, by means of the *Purânas*, we ſhall in time diſcover all the learning of the *Egyptians* without decyphering their hieroglyphicks: the bull of ISWARA ſeems to be APIS, or AP, as he is more correctly named in the true reading of a paſſage in JEREMIAH; and, if the veneration ſhown both in *Tibet* and *India* to ſo amiable and uſeful a quadruped as the Cow, together with the *regeneration* of the LAMA himſelf, have not ſome affinity with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry of *Iſraël*, we muſt at leaſt allow that circumſtances have wonderfully coincided. BHAVA'NI now demands our attention; and in this character I ſuppoſe the wife of MAHA'DE'VA to be as well the JUNO *Cinxia* or LUCINA of the *Romans* (called alſo by them DIANA *Solvizona*, and by the *Greeks* ILITHYIA) as VENUS herſelf; not the *Idalian* queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful

child of poetical imagination, and anſwers to the *Indian* REMBHA' with her celeſtial train of *Apſará's*, or damſels of paradiſe; but VENUS *Urania*, ſo luxuriantly painted by LUCRETIUS, and ſo properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on nature; VENUS, preſiding over *generation*, and, on that account, exhibited ſometimes of both ſexes (an union very common in the *Indian* ſculptures), as in her *bearded* ſtatue at *Rome*, in the images perhaps called *Hermathena*, and in thoſe figures of her, which had the form of a *conical marble*; "for the reaſon of which figure "we are left, ſays TACITUS, in the dark:" the reaſon appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hinduſtan*; where it never ſeems to have entered the heads of the legiſlators or people that any thing natural could be offenſively obſcene; a ſingularity, which pervades all their writings and converſation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and CICERO ſpeak of EROS, or the Heavenly CUPID, as the ſon of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddeſs of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DE'VA and BHAVA'NI: the God CA'MA, indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, for his parents, at leaſt according to the Mythologiſts of *Caſhmir*; but, in moſt reſpects, he ſeems the twin-brother of CUPID with richer and more

lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dipaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneouſly written *Dipuc*; and I am now convinced, that the ſort of reſemblance, which has been obſerved between his *Latin* and *Sanſcrit* names, is accidental: in each name the three firſt letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection ſubſiſted between the *amaracus*, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasi of India*, muſt be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly tranſlated *marjoram)* is extremely near.

One of the moſt remarkable ceremonies, in the feſtival of the *Indian* Goddeſs, is that beforementioned of caſting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerning its origin and import, anſwered, "that it was pre-"ſcribed by the *Véda*, they knew not why;" but this cuſtom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of ISWARA, and conſequently of ISA'NI, who is even repreſented by ſome as the patroneſs of that element, to which her figure is reſtored, after having received all due honours on *earth*, which is conſidered as another *form* of the God of Nature, though ſubſequent, in the order of Creation, to the primeval fluid. There ſeems no deciſive

CAMA.
मननश्चास्मिकंदर्पः

proof of one original ſyſtem among idolatrous nations in the worſhip of river-gods and river-goddeſſes, nor in the homage paid to their ſtreams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them: ſince *Greeks, Italians, Egyptians,* and *Hindus* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the ſeveral divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleaſure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor MUSGRAVE, that large rivers were ſuppoſed, from their ſtrength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like moſt other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Moſt of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddeſſes of the waters, whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are GANGA', who ſprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVE; YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERESWATÍ: all three meet at *Prayága,* thence called *Trivéni,* or *the three plaited locks*; but SERESWATÍ, according to the popular belief, ſinks under ground, and riſes at another *Trivéni* near *Húgli,* where ſhe rejoins her beloved GANGA'. The *Brahmaputra* is, indeed, a male river; and, as his name ſignifies the Son of BRAHMA', I thence took occaſion to feign that he was married to GANGA', though I have not yet ſeen any

mention of him, as a God, in the *Sanſcrit* books.

Two incarnate deities of the firſt rank, RA'MA and CRISHNA, muſt now be introduced, and their ſeveral attributes diſtinctly explained. The firſt of them, I believe, was the DIONYSOS of the *Greeks*, whom they named BROMIUS, without knowing why, and BUGENES, when they repreſented him *horned*, as well as LYAIOS and ELEUTHERIOS, the Deliverer, and TRIAMBOS or DITHYRAMBOS, the Triumphant: moſt of thoſe titles were adopted by the *Romans*, by whom he was called BRUMA, TAURIFORMIS, LIBER, TRIUMPHUS; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his *giving laws* to men and deciding their conteſts, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more obſervable, of his conquering *India* and other countries with an army of *Satyrs*, commanded by no leſs a perſonage than PAN; whom LILIUS GIRALDUS, on what authority I know not, aſſerts to have reſided in *Iberia*, "when he had returned, ſays "the learned Mythologiſt, from the *Indian* war, "in which he accompanied BACCHUS." It were ſuperfluous in a mere eſſay, to run any length in the parallel between this *European* God and the ſovereign of *Ayodhyà*, whom the *Hindus* believe to have been an appearance on

earth of the *Preſerving Power*; to have been a Conqueror of the higheſt renown and the Deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his conſort SÍTA' from the giant RA'VAN, king of *Lancá*, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of thoſe large *Monkeys*, which our naturaliſts, or ſome of them, have denominated *Indian* Satyrs: his General, the Prince of Satyrs, was named HANUMAT, or *with high cheek bones*; and, with workmen of ſuch agility, he ſoon raiſed a bridge of rocks over the ſea, part of which, ſay the *Hindus*, yet remains; and it is, probably, the ſeries of rocks, to which the *Muſelmans* or the *Portugueſe* have given the fooliſh name of ADAM'S (it ſhould be called RA'MA'S) bridge. Might not this army of Satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom RA'MA, if ſuch a monarch ever exiſted, had civilized? However that may be, the large breed of *Indian* Apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the *Hindus*, and fed with devotion by the *Bráhmans*, who ſeem, in two or three places on the banks of the *Ganges*, to have a regular endowment for the ſupport of them: they live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I ſpeak as an eye-witneſs), and appear to have ſome kind of order and ſubordination in their little ſylvan polity. We muſt not omit, that

the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight Genii; and, as PAN improved the pipe by adding ſix reeds, and "played exquiſitely on the cithern a few "moments after his birth," ſo one of the four ſyſtems of *Indian* muſick bears the name of HANUMAT, or HANUMA'N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general eſtimation.

The war of *Lancá* is dramatically repreſented at the feſtival of RA'MA on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra*; and the drama concludes (ſays HOLWEL, who had often ſeen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife SÍTA' gave proof of her connubial fidelity: "the dialogue, he adds, is taken "from one of the Eighteen holy books," meaning, I ſuppoſe, the *Puránas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at leaſt two thouſand years old, and among them are ſeveral very fine ones on the ſtory of RA'MA. The firſt poet of the *Hindus* was the great VA'LMÍC, and his *Rámáyan* is an Epic Poem on the ſame ſubject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of ſtyle, far ſurpaſſes the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS, entitled *Dionyſiaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I peruſed with great eagerneſs, when I was very young, and ſhould have travelled to the concluſion of it, if other pur-

ſuits had not engaged me: I ſhall never have leiſure to compare the *Dionyſiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident, that an accurate compariſon of the two poems would prove DIONYSOS and RA'MA to have been the ſame perſon; and I incline to think, that he was RA'MA, the ſon of CU'SH, who might have eſtabliſhed the firſt regular government in this part of *Aſia*. I had almoſt forgotten, that *Meros* is ſaid by the *Greeks* to have been a mountain of *India*, on which their DIONYSOS was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally means the north pole in the *Indian* geography, is alſo a mountain near the city of *Naiſhada* or *Nyſa*, called by the *Grecian* geographers *Dionyſopolis*, and univerſally celebrated in the *Sanſcrit* poems; though the birth place of RA'MA is ſuppoſed to have been *Ayódhyà* or *Audh*. That ancient city extended, if we believe the *Bráhmans*, over a line of ten *Yojans*, or about forty miles, and the preſent city of *Lac'hnau*, pronounced *Lucnow*, was only a lodge for one of its gates, called *Lacſhmanadwára*, or the gate of LACSHMAN, a brother of RA'MA: M. SONNERAT ſuppoſes *Ayódhyá* to have been *Siam*; a moſt erroneous and unfounded ſuppoſition! which would have been of little conſequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that RA'MA was the ſame perſon with BUDDHA,

who muſt have appeared many centuries after the conqueſt of *Lancá*.

The ſecond great divinity, CRISHNA, paſſed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a moſt extrordinary and incomprehenſible nature. He was the ſon of DE'VACÍ by VASUDE'VA; but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant CANSA, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time in that family would deſtroy him: he was foſtered, therefore, in *Mat'hurá* by an honeſt herdſman, ſurnamed ANANDA, or *Happy*, and his amiable wife YASO'DA', who, like another PALES, was conſtantly occupied in her paſtures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young *Gopa's* or *Cowherds*, and beautiful *Gopi's*, or *milkmaids*, who were his playfellows during his infancy; and, in his early youth, he ſelected *nine* damſels as his favourites, with whom he paſſed his gay hours in dancing, ſporting, and playing on his flute. For the remarkable number of his *Gopi's* I have no authority but a whimſical picture, where *nine* girls are grouped in the form of an elephant, on which he ſits and pipes; and, unfortunately, the word *nava* ſignifies both *nine* and *new* or young; ſo that, in the following ſtanza, it may admit of two interpretations:

taran'ijápuline navaballavi
periſadá ſaha célicutúhalát

CRISHNA.
हृषीकेशं वासुदेवोऽस्मि

RAMA.
रामः श्रीमद्भगवान्

drutavilamwitacháruvihárinam
herimaham hrídayéna ſadá vahé.

"I bear in my boſom continually that God, "who, for ſportive recreation with a train of "*nine* (young) dairy-maids, dances gracefully, "now quick now ſlow, on the ſands juſt left "by the Daughter of the Sun."

Both he and the three RA'MAS are deſcribed as youths of perfect beauty; but the princeſſes of *Hinduſtán*, as well as the damſels of NANDA'S farm, were paſſionately in love with CRISHNA, who continues to this hour the darling God of the *Indian* women. The ſect of *Hindus*, who adore him with enthuſiaſtick, and almoſt excluſive, devotion, have broached a doctrine, which they maintain with eagerneſs, and which ſeems general in theſe provinces; that he was diſtinct from all the *Avatárs*, who had only an *anſa*, or portion, of his divinity; while CRISHNA was the *perſon* of VISHNU himſelf in a human form: hence they conſider the third RA'MA, his elder brother, as the eighth *Avatár* inveſted with an *emanation* of his divine radiance; and, in the principal *Sanſcrit* dictionary, compiled about two thouſand years ago, CRISHNA, VA'SADE'VA, GO'VINDA, and other names of the Shepherd God, are intermixed with epithets of NA'RA'YAN, or the Divine Spirit. All the *Avatárs* are painted with gem-

med *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets; with rays encircling their heads; jewels in their ears; two necklaces, one ſtraight, and one pendent on their boſoms with dropping gems; garlands of well-diſpoſed many-coloured flowers, or collars of pearls, hanging down below their waiſts; looſe mantles of golden tiſſue or dyed ſilk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one ſhoulder, and folded, like ribbands, acroſs the breaſt; with bracelets too on one arm, and on each wriſt: they are naked to the waiſts, and uniformly with *dark azure* fleſh, in alluſion, probably, to the tint of that primordial fluid, on which NA'RA'YAN moved in the beginning of time; but their ſkirts are bright yellow, the colour of the curious pericarpium in the centre of the water-lily, where *Nature*, as Dr. MURRAY obſerves, *in ſome degree diſcloſes her ſecrets*, each ſeed containing, before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they are ſometimes drawn with that flower in one hand; a radiated elliptical ring, uſed as a miſſile weapon, in a ſecond; the ſacred ſhell, or left-handed buccinum, in a third; and a mace or battle-ax, in a fourth; but CRISHNA, when he appears, as he ſometimes does appear, among the *Avatárs*, is more ſplendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of ſylvan flowers, whence he is named VANAMA'LI, as low as

GANGA.
सोनसामस्मिन्नाकवी ३१

SURYA.
ज्योतिषांरविरंशुमान्

his ankles, which are adorned with ſtrings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to *black*, which is the meaning of the word *Criſhna*, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is conſecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackneſs, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to VISHNU; and hence, in the great reſervoir or ciſtern at *Cátmándu* the capital of *Népal*, there is placed in a recumbent poſture a large well-proportioned image of *blue* marble, repreſenting NA'RA'YAN floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of CRISHNA; who was not leſs heroick, than lovely, and, when a boy, ſlew the terrible ſerpent *Cáliya* with a number of giants and monſters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king YUDHISHT'HIR and the other *Pándus*, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Curus*, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war deſcribed in the great Epick Poem, entitled the *Mahábhárat*, at the proſperous concluſion of which he returned to his heavenly ſeat in *Vaícont'ha*, having left the inſtructions compriſed in the *Gitá* with his diſconſolate friend ARJUN, whoſe grandſon became ſovereign of *India*.

In this picture it is impoſſible not to diſcover,

at the firſt glance, the features of APOLLO, ſurnamed *Nomios*, or the *Paſtoral*, in *Greece*, and OPIFER in *Italy*; who fed the herds of ADMETUS, and ſlew the ſerpent *Python*; a God amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word *Góvinda* may be literally tranſlated *Nomios*, as *Céſava*, is *Crinitus*, or *with fine hair*; but whether *Gópála*, or the *herdſman*, has any relation to *Apollo*, let our Etymologiſts determine. Colonel VALLANCEY, whoſe learned enquiries into the ancient literature of *Ireland* are highly intereſting, aſſures me, that *Criſhna* in *Iriſh* means the SUN; and we find APOLLO and SOL conſidered by the *Roman* poets as the ſame deity: I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only CRISHNA or VISHNU, but even BRAHMA' and SIVA, when united, and expreſſed by the myſtical word O'M, were deſigned by the firſt idolaters to repreſent the Solar fire; but PHŒBUS, or the *orb of the Sun* perſonified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God SU'RYA, whence the ſect, who pay him particular adoration, are called *Sauras*: their poets and painters deſcribe his car as drawn by ſeven green horſes, preceded by ARUN, or the *Dawn*, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thouſands of Genii worſhipping him and modulating his praiſes. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which

denote his diſtinct *powers* in each of the twelve months: thoſe *powers* are called *Adityas*, or ſons of ADITI by CASYAPA, the *Indian* URANUS; and one of them has, according to ſome authorities, the name of VISHNU or *Pervader*. SU'RYA is believed to have deſcended frequently from his car in a human ſhape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the *Indian* ſtories with the *Heliadai* of *Greece*: it is very ſingular, that his two ſons called ASWINAU or ASWINI'CUMA'RAU, in the dual, ſhould be conſidered as twin-brothers, and painted like CASTOR and POLLUX, but they have each the character of ÆSCULAPIUS among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with ſun-beams. I ſuſpect the whole fable of CASYAPA and his progeny to be aſtronomical; and cannot but imagine, that the *Greek* name CASSIOPEIA has a relation to it. Another great *Indian* family are called the *Children of the Moon*, or CHANDRA; who is a male Deity, and conſequently not to be compared with ARTEMIS or DIANA; nor have I yet found a parallel in *India* for the Goddeſs of the *Chaſe*, who ſeems to have been the daughter of an *European* fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of *Bucolick* and *Georgick* poets: yet, ſince the *Moon* is a *form* of

I'SWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verſe of CA'LIDA'SA, and ſince I'SA'NI has been ſhown to be his *conſort* or *power*, we may conſider her, in one of her characters, as LUNA; eſpecially as we ſhall ſoon be convinced that, in the ſhades below, ſhe correſponds with the HECATE of *Europe*.

The worſhip of Solar, or Veſtal, *Fire* may be aſcribed, like that of OSIRIS and ISIS, to the ſecond ſource of mythology, or an enthuſiaſtick admiration of Nature's wonderful powers; and it ſeems, as far as I can yet underſtand the *Védas*, to be the principal worſhip recommended in them. We have ſeen, that MAHA'DE'VA himſelf is perſonated by *Fire*; but, ſubordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PA'VACA, or the *Purifier*, who anſwers to the VULCAN of *Egypt*, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife SWA'HA' reſembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the *Eolians* pronounced the *Greek* word for a *hearth*: BHAVA'NI, or VENUS, is the conſort of the Supreme Deſtructive and Generative Power; but the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whoſe ſyſtem is leſs regular than that of the *Indians*, married her to their *divine artiſt*, whom they alſo named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who ſeems to be the *Indian* VISWACARMAN, the *forger of arms* for the Gods, and inventor of the *agnyaſtra*, or *fiery*

ſhaſt, in the war between them and the *Daityas* or *Titans*. It is not eaſy here to refrain from obſerving (and, if the obſervation give offence in *England*, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly diſcovered planet ſhould unqueſtionably be named VULCAN; ſince the confuſion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unſcholarly, and unphiloſophical: the name URANUS is appropriated to the firmament; but VULCAN, the floweſt of the Gods, and, according to the *Egyptian* prieſts, the oldeſt of them, agrees admirably with an orb, which muſt perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we ſhall have ſeven primary planets with the names of as many *Roman* Deities, MERCURY, VENUS, TELLUS, MARS, JUPITER, SATURN, VULCAN.

It has already been intimated, that the MUSES and NYMPHS are the GO'PYA of *Math'urà*, and of *Góverdhan*, the *Parnaſſus* of the *Hindus*; and the lyrick poems of JAYADE'VA will fully juſtify this opinion; but the *Nymphs* of *Muſick* are the *thirty* RA'GINI'S or *Female Paſſions*, whoſe various functions and properties are ſo richly delineated by the *Indian* painters and ſo finely deſcribed by the poets; but I will not anticipate what will require a ſeparate Eſſay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the

Hindus in their ſyſtem of muſical modes, which they call RA'GA'S, or *Paſſions*, and ſuppoſed to be Genii or Demigods. A very diſtinguiſhed ſon of BRAHMA', named NA'RED, whoſe actions are the ſubject of a *Purána*, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to HERMES or MERCURY: he was a wiſe legiſlator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent meſſenger of the Gods either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a muſician of exquiſite ſkill; his invention of the *Viná*, or *Indian* lute, is thus deſcribed in the poem entitled *Mágha:* "NA'RED ſat watching from "time to time his large *Viná*, which, by the "impulſe of the breeze, yielded notes, that "pierced ſucceſſively the regions of his ear, "and proceeded by muſical intervals." The law tract, ſuppoſed to have been revealed by NA'RED, is at this hour cited by the *Pandits*; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of *Thieves*; though an innocent theft of CRISHNA'S cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be ſtrangely imputed, in the *Bhágavat*, to his father BRAHMA'.

The laſt of the *Greek* or *Italian* divinities, for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of *India*, is the *Stygian* or *Taurick* DIANA, otherwiſe named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE; and there can be no doubt of her identity with CA'LI', or the wife of SIVA

देवर्षीणांचनारदः।

in his character of the *Stygian* Jove. To this black Goddeſs with a collar of golden ſkulls, as we ſee her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human ſacrifices* were anciently offered, as the *Védas* enjoined; but, in the preſent age, they are abſolutely prohibited, as are alſo the ſacrifices of bulls and horſes: kids are ſtill offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the ſlaughter, which gave ſuch offence to BUDDHA, the *Bráhmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims riſe in the heaven of INDRA, where they become the muſicians of his band. Inſtead of the obſolete, and now illegal, ſacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horſe, called *Neramédha*, *Gómédha*, and *Aſ'wamédha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the leſs bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the feſtivals of CA'LI' and LACSHMI' are ſolemnized nearly at the ſame time: now, if it be aſked, how the Goddeſs of Death came to be united with the mild patroneſs of Abundance, I muſt propoſe another queſtion, "How came PROSERPINE to "be repreſented in the *European* ſyſtem as the "daughter of CERES?" Perhaps, both queſtions may be anſwered by the propoſition of natural philoſophers, that "the apparent deſtruction of "a ſubſtance is the production of it in a dif-"ferent form." The wild muſick of CA'LI's prieſts at one of her feſtivals brought inſtantly

to my recollection the *Scythian* meaſures of DIANA's adorers in the ſplendid opera of IPHIGENIA in *Tauris*, which GLUCK exhibited at *Paris* with leſs genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orcheſtra could ſupply.

That we may not diſmiſs this aſſemblage of *European* and *Aſiatick* divinities with a ſubject ſo horrid as the altars of HECATE and CA'LI', let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the *Indian* Philoſophy, with which we are not at preſent concerned. Firſt; *Elyſium* (not the place, but the bliſs enjoyed there, in which ſenſe MILTON uſes the word) cannot but appear, as deſcribed by the poets, a very tedious and inſipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary *Elyſium* in the court of INDRA, where the pleaſures, as in MUHAMMED's paradiſe, are wholly ſenſual; but the *Mucti*, or *Elyſian* happineſs of the *Védánta* School is far more ſublime; for they repreſent it as a total abſorption, though not ſuch as to deſtroy conſciouſneſs, in the divine eſſence; but, for the reaſon before ſuggeſted, I ſay no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of tranſmigration and the ſimilarity of the *Védánta* to the *Sicilian*, *Italick*, and old *Academick* Schools.

Secondly; in the myſtical and elevated character of PAN, as a perſonification of the *Uni-*

verſe, according to the notion of lord BACON, there ariſes a ſort of ſimilitude between him and CRISHNA conſidered as NA'RAYAN. The *Grecian* god plays divinely on his reed, to expreſs, we are told, etherial harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the paſtures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the ſky, and his head illumined with the horns of a creſcent; whilſt his lower extremities are deformed and ſhaggy, as a ſymbol of the vegetables, which the earth produces, and of the beaſts, who roam over the face of it: now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of CRISHNA, the Shepherd God, and partly with the deſcription in the *Bhágavat* of the divine ſpirit exhibited *in the form of this Univerſal World*; to which we may add the following ſtory from the ſame extraordinary poem. The Nymphs had complained to YASO'DA', that the child CRISHNA had been drinking their curds and milk: on being reproved by his foſter-mother for this indiſcretion, he requeſted her to examine his mouth; in which, to her juſt amazement, ſhe beheld the *whole univerſe* in all its plenitude of magnificence.

We muſt not be ſurprized at finding, on a cloſe examination, that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at laſt into one or two; for it ſeems

a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddeſſes in ancient *Rome*, and modern *Várânes*, mean only the powers of nature, and principally thoſe of the SUN, expreſſed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

Thus have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at preſent for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increaſing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*; but, which was the original ſyſtem and which the copy, I will not preſume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be ſoon furniſhed with ſufficient grounds for a deciſion: the fundamental rule, that *natural, and moſt human, operations proceed from the ſimple to the compound*, will afford no aſſiſtance on this point; ſince neither the *Aſiatick* nor *European* ſyſtem has any ſimplicity in it; and both are ſo complex, not to ſay abſurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the ſublime, that the honour, ſuch as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.

Since *Egypt* appears to have been the grand ſource of knowledge for the *weſtern*, and *India* for the more *eaſtern*, parts of the globe, it may ſeem a material queſtion, whether the *Egyptians* communicated their Mythology and Philoſophy

to the *Hindus*, or converſely; but what the learned of *Memphis* wrote or ſaid concerning *India*, no mortal knows: and what the learned of *Várânes* have aſſerted, if any thing, concerning *Egypt*, can give us little ſatisfaction: ſuch circumſtantial evidence on this queſtion as I have been able to collect, ſhall nevertheleſs be ſtated; becauſe, unſatisfactory as it is, there may be ſomething in it not wholly unworthy of notice; though after all, whatever colonies may have come from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, we ſhall, perhaps, agree at laſt with Mr. BRYANT, that *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, and *Italians*, proceeded originally from one central place, and that the ſame people carried their religion and ſciences into *China* and *Japan:* may we not add, even to *Mexico* and *Peru?*

Every one knows, that the true name of *Egypt* is *Miſr*, ſpelled with a palatial ſibilant both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick:* it ſeems in *Hebrew* to have been the proper name of the firſt ſettler in it; and, when the *Arabs* uſe the word for *a great city*, they probably mean *a city like the capital of Egypt*. Father MARCO, a *Roman* Miſſionary, who, though not a ſcholar of the firſt rate, is incapable, I am perſuaded, of deliberate falſehood, lent me the laſt book of a *Rámáyan*, which he had tranſlated through the *Hindi* into his native language, and with it a ſhort vocabulary of My-

thological and Hiſtorical names, which had been explained to him by the *Pandits* of *Betiyà*, where he had long reſided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, "*Tirút*, a town and pro-"vince, in which the prieſts from *Egypt* ſet-"tled;" and, when I aſked him, what name *Egypt* bore among the *Hindus*, he ſaid *Miſ'r*, but obſerved, that they ſometimes confounded it with *Abyſſinia*. I perceived, that his memory of what he had written was correct; for *Miſ'r* was another word in his index, "from which coun-"try, he ſaid, came the *Egyptian* prieſts, who "ſettled in *Tirút*." I ſuſpected immediately, that his intelligence flowed from the *Muſelmans*, who call ſugar-candy *Miſri* or *Egyptian*; but, when I examined him cloſely, and earneſtly deſired him to recollect from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and poſitively declared, that "it had been given him "by ſeveral *Hindus*, and particularly by a *Bráh-"man*, his intimate friend, who was reputed a "conſiderable *Pandit*, and had lived three years "near his houſe." We then conceived, that the ſeat of his *Egyptian* colony muſt have been *Tiróhit*, commonly pronounced *Tirút*, and anciently called *Mit'hilà*, the principal town of *Janaca-deſ'a*, or north *Bahàr*; but MAHE'SA *Pandit*, who was born in that very diſtrict, and who ſubmitted patiently to a long examination concern-

ing *Misr*, overſet all our concluſions: he denied, that the *Bráhmans* of his country were generally ſurnamed MISR, as we had been informed; and ſaid, that the addition of MISRA to the name of VA'CHESPETI, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of *miſcellanies*, or *compilers* of various tracts on religion or ſcience, the word being derived from a root ſignifying to *mix*. Being aſked, where the country of *Misr* was, "There are two, he anſwered, of that name; one of them *in the weſt* under the dominion of *Muſelmáns*, and another, which all the *Sástras* and *Puránas* mention, in a mountainous region to the *north* of *Ayódhyà*:" it is evident, that by the firſt he meant *Egypt*, but what he meant by the ſecond, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. A country, called *Tirahut* by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eaſtern frontier of *Audh* and the mountains of *Népal*; but whether that was the *Tirút* mentioned to father MARCO by his friend of *Betíya*, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that *Miſra* is an epithet of two *Bráhmans* in the drama of SACONTALA', which was written near a century before the birth of CHRIST; that ſome of the greateſt lawyers, and two of the fineſt dramatick poets, of *India* have the ſame title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of *Hindu* parties; and that none of the *Pandits*, whom I have ſince

conſulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is *a ſurname of* Bráhmans *in the weſt*. On the account given to Colonel KYD by the old *Rájà* of *Criſhnanagar*, "concerning *traditions* among the *Hindus*, that "ſome *Egyptians* had ſettled in this country," I cannot rely; becauſe I am credibly informed by ſome of the *Rájà's* own family, that he was not a man of ſolid learning, though he poſſeſſed curious books, and had been attentive to the converſation of learned men: beſides, I know that his ſon and moſt of his kinſmen have been dabblers in *Perſian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one ſource of information with another, to puzzle themſelves, and miſlead thoſe with whom they converſe. The word *Miſr*, ſpelled alſo in *Sanſcrit* with a palatial ſibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may ſafely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanſcrit* word *nila*, or *blue*; ſince DIONYSIUS expreſsly calls the waters of that river "an *azure* ſtream;" and, if we can depend on MARCO's *Italian* verſion of the *Rámáyan*, the name of *Nila* is given to a lofty and ſacred mountain with a ſummit of pure gold, from which flowed *a river of clear, ſweet, and freſh water*. M. SONNERAT refers to a diſſertation by Mr. SCHMIT, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inſcriptions, "On an *Egyptian* Colony eſta-

" bliſhed in *India:*" it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by ſuch higher authorities, as are now acceſſible in theſe provinces. I ſtrongly incline to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* prieſts have actually come from the *Nile* to the *Gangà* and *Yamunà*, which the *Bráhmans* moſt aſſuredly would never have left: they might, indeed, have come either to be inſtructed or to inſtruct; but it ſeems more probable, that they viſited the *Surmans* of *India*, as the ſages of *Greece* viſited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the ſelf-ſufficient *Bráhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

Be all this as it may, I am perſuaded, that a connexion ſubſiſted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before they migrated to their ſeveral ſettlements, and conſequently before the birth of MOSES; but the proof of this propoſition will in no degree affect the truth and ſanctity of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, which, if confirmation were neceſſary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine Legate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all reſpects highly accompliſhed, could not but know the mythological ſyſtem of *Egypt*; but he muſt have condemned the ſuperſtitions of that people, and deſpiſed the ſpeculative

abſurdities of their prieſts; though ſome of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES? Who more accurately verſed in the Rabbinical doctrines than PAUL? Who poſſeſſed clearer ideas of all ancient aſtronomical ſyſtems than NEWTON, or of ſcholaſtick metaphyſicks than LOCKE? In whom could the *Romiſh* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whoſe deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him ſo competent to diſpute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and ſhocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himſelf? Yet the learning of thoſe great men only incited them to ſeek other ſources of truth, piety, and virtue, than thoſe in which they had long been immerſed. There is no ſhadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that MOSES borrowed the firſt nine or ten chapters of *Geneſis* from the literature of *Egypt:* ſtill leſs can the adamantine pillars of our *Chriſtian* faith be moved by the reſult of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*, or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very reſpectable natives have aſſured me, that one or two miſſionaries have been abſurd enough, in their zeal for the converſion of the *Gentiles*,

to urge, "that the *Hindus* were even now al-"moſt *Chriſtians*, becauſe their BRAHMA', VISH-"NU, and MAHE'SA, were no other than the "*Chriſtian* Trinity;" a ſentence, in which we can only doubt, whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The three *powers*, *Creative*, *Preſervative*, and *Deſtructive*, which the *Hindus* expreſs by the triliteral word *Om*, were groſsly aſcribed by the firſt idolaters to the *heat*, *light*, and *flame* of their miſtaken divinity, the Sun; and their wiſer ſucceſſors in the Eaſt, who perceived that the Sun was only a created thing, applied thoſe powers to its creator; but the *Indian* Triad, and that of PLATO, which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reaſon, and the Soul, are infinitely removed from the holineſs and ſublimity of the doctrine, which pious *Chriſtians* have deduced from texts in the Goſpel, though other *Chriſtians*, as pious, openly profeſs their diſſent from them. Each ſect muſt be juſtified by its own faith and good intentions: this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of our church cannot without profaneneſs be compared with that of the *Hindus*, which has only an apparent reſemblance to it, but a very different meaning. One ſingular fact, however, muſt not be ſuffered to paſs unnoticed. That the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his ſtory, were long anterior to the birth of

our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled *Bhágavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a moſt extraordinary kind, but ſtrangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanſcrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Herdſmen*, but it adds, that he was educated among them, and paſſed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be ſlain, yet this wonderful babe was preſerved by biting the breaſt, inſtead of ſucking the poiſoned nipple, of a nurſe commiſſioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of ſeven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger: he ſaved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raiſed the dead by deſcending for that purpoſe to the loweſt regions; he was the meekeſt and beſt-tempered of beings, waſhed the feet of the *Bráhmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and ſublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaſte in reality, but exhibited an appearance of exceſſive libertiniſm, and had wives or miſtreſſes too numerous to be counted; laſtly, he was benevolent and tender, yet ſo-

mented and conducted a terrible war. This motley ſtory muſt induce an opinion that the ſpurious Goſpels, which abounded in the firſt age of *Chriſtianity*, had been brought to *India*, and the wildeſt parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*, who ingrafted them on the old fable of CE'SAVA, the APOLLO of *Greece*.

As to the general extenſion of our pure faith in *Hinduſtán*, there are at preſent many ſad obſtacles to it. The *Muſelmáns* are already a ſort of heterodox *Chriſtians*: they are *Chriſtians*, if LOCKE reaſons juſtly, becauſe they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whoſe unity and attributes they entertain and expreſs the moſt awful ideas; while they conſider our doctrine as perfect blaſphemy, and inſiſt, that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. It will be inexpreſſibly difficult to undeceive them, and ſcarce poſſible to diminiſh their veneration for MOHAMMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the ſecond, a man of unexceptionable morals: the *Korán* ſhines, indeed, with a borrowed light, ſince moſt of its beauties are taken from our Scrip-

tures; but it has great beauties, and the *Muſelmáns* will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The *Hindus* on the other hand would readily admit the truth of the Goſpel; but they contend, that it is perfectly conſiſtent with their *Sáſtras:* the deity, they ſay, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the ſalvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they ſay, the ſame God, to whom our ſeveral worſhips, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be ſincere in ſubſtance. We may aſſure ourſelves, that neither *Muſelmáns* nor *Hindus* will ever be converted by any miſſion from the Church of *Rome*, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of cauſing ſo great a revolution will be to tranſlate into *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian* ſuch chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indiſputably Evangelical, together with one of the Goſpels, and a plain prefatory diſcourſe containing full evidence of the very diſtant ages, in which the predictions themſelves, and the hiſtory of the divine perſon predicted, were ſeverally made publick; and then quietly to diſperſe the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing

very ſalutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the ſtrength of prejudice, and the weakneſs of unaſſiſted reaſon.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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